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Scowcroft Report Recommends 'Freezing' SDI

PM0702144589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Feb 89 First Edition p 3

["Military-Political Commentary" by Senior Lieutenant S. Sidorov: "What Will the 'Smart Hawk' Do?"]

[Text] A group of military policy specialists representing the Republican and the Democratic Parties has published a report containing recommendations to the White House on the modernization of the U.S. strategic potential. This important research study has been carried out under the direction of B. Scowcroft, now the President's national security adviser. The document's authors include S. Nunn and L. Aspin, chairmen of the Senate and House Armed Services Committees respectively, former Defense Secretary H. Brown, and others. It can be assumed that the report will not only be studied closely by its intended recipient but will also subsequently have considerable influence on the administration's choice of priorities in the national security sphere.

The authors of the document, entitled "The Deterrence Factor on the Threshold of a New Century," urges the administration to focus its efforts not on creating a broad, space-based air defense system but on increasing the invulnerability of America's strategic offensive armaments. It is recommended that this be done primarily by the mobile basing of ICBM's—both the Minuteman-3 and MX missiles already adopted and the Midgetman missiles, which are being created. The report proposes that the creation of the Trident SSBN fleet, equipped with 24 ballistic missile launchers, be terminated. In the event of progress at the strategic offensive arms talks and the subsequent reduction in the number of nuclear warheads, the compilers of the report believe, there should be a switch to the production of smaller submarines with fewer ballistic missiles to increase the invulnerability of this component of the U.S. "nuclear triad." It is proposed that the modernization of strategic aviation be carried out by the production of B-2 Stealth bombers, but the authors recommend that there should be no rush to deploy them. As for "Star Wars," it is advised that spending on SDI be frozen at the current level.

So it is modernization of the classic "triad" instead of stepping up the semifantastic SDI and beginning the deployment of a space-based air defense system in the late nineties? At a time when the new political thinking, one of whose fundamental principles is a switch from superarmament to reasonable sufficiency, is beginning to be asserted in international life, and when Soviet-U.S. relations have entered a new stage in their development, putting the question in these terms can hardly be considered a sign of realistic policy. However, t is evident that the proposed choice would be most preferable to an administration forced to balance between common sense and the Reagan "legacy" of ambitious military programs. "A 'smart hawk' sometimes has to operate in a confined space," J. Tower, appointed by Bush as defense secretary, admitted in a recent TV interview.

In October last year, in response to mounting criticism of SDI in Congress and simply because of a shortage of resources, the Pentagon authorized a reduction in the pace of development of the initial stage of this system. Furthermore, dissatisfaction was expressed not only by Congress but by members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. There were long-standing disagreements between Lieutenant General Abrahamson, former head of the SDI Organization, and the leaders of the individual branches of the Armed Forces on whether SDI was not demanding too much money from the section of the budget intended for nuclear armaments.

Thus, the Bush administration has taken a serious approach to the solution of a fundamental question—determining its attitude toward SDI. If the White House heeds the report's recommendations, the first result of a corresponding decision could be to make substantial changes in the U.S. stance at future talks on nuclear and space arms, and first of all with regard to a separate agreement on the observance of the ABM Treaty and nondeparture from it during an agreed on period—the crucial problem blocking a treaty on a 50-percent reduction of USSR and U.S. strategic offensive weapons. We will probably know how realistic this forecast is within the next few weeks.

Disarmament Conference Session Opens in Geneva

LD0702112589 Moscow TASS in English 1121 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] Geneva February 7 TASS—A regular session of the disarmament conference has begun at the Palace of Nations here. Opening the session, Miljan Komatina, the U.N. secretary general's special representative to the conference, read out Perez de Cuellar's message to its participants. We are witnessing, the document notes, historical changes in the international arena, underlying which is the positive turn in relations between the two superpowers. In this context, the beginning of 1989 gives reason to expect a further favourable development of international relations.

Perez de Cuellar urged the disarmament conference to redouble its efforts in order to conclude shortly a comprehensive convention banning chemical weapons, which enjoys the broadest support all over the world.

The conference chairman Ambassador Aldo Pugliese (Italy) stressed that the Soviet-American dialogue, just as the positive results of the Vienna meeting of parties to the Conference on European Security and Cooperation, would directly influence the negotiations within the frameworks of the disarmament conference.

'Encouraging Prospects' Seen

LD0802102789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent Yu. Kosinskiy report: "Disarmament on the Agenda"]

[Text] Geneva—The disarmament conference resumed work at the Palace of Nations on 7 February. The first part of this session, unofficially dubbed the "spring" session by its participants, will last until the end of April.

What questions are to be resolved this year by the 40 states participating in the disarmament conference? "At the very beginning of the spring session," Milan Komatina, general secretary of the disarmament conference, noted in a conversation with journalists accredited at Geneva's Palace of Nations, "it will be necessary to adopt the agenda, which, by established tradition, will be elaborated in the light of the UN General Assembly's recommendations and wishes. In particular, the conference participants are instructed to continue and intensify work on the disarmament talks, which are most important for the international community. In that context attention is drawn to the need to develop the progress achieved at the Geneva talks on elaborating a draft convention on banning the development, production, stockpiling, and use of all types of chemical weapons and on their destruction. We hope that during the current session it will be possible to accelerate the completion of work on this important draft.

"The session participants' attention," M. Komatina went on, "will focus on other priority issues on the agenda connected with ensuring progress toward complete and general disarmament under effective international control. In particular, in accordance with the UN General Assembly's recommendations, there will be an examination at the beginning of the spring session of the question of creating a special committee on multilateral talks to prepare a treaty on the complete cessation of experimental nuclear explosions."

Favorable changes in the world toward the reduction of armaments and the elimination of the most dangerous centers of regional armed conflicts, the USSR's important initiatives, and the success of the Vienna meeting, which seals the relations of greater trust among states—all these things, as they note here, offer the session participants encouraging prospects.

Hopes for Chemical Ban Viewed

LD0702183389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Interview with political observer Aleksandr Zholkver by correspondent Andrey Ptashnikov on the opening of a new session of the Geneva disarmament conference—live or recorded]

[Text] [Ptashnikov] A regular session of the disarmament conference opened in Geneva today. Taking part in the work of this very prestigious body are representatives of 40 states. What aspects of disarmament are now at the center of attention? I turn to our political observer, Aleksandr Zholkver, with this question.

[Zholkver] There are many things on the conference agenda, from working out a treaty on a complete nuclear test ban to preventing an arms race in space, but it seems to me that the main work in Geneva just now is developing around preparations for an international convention on a complete ban and the elimination of chemical weapons.

[Ptashnikov] What is your conviction based on?

[Zholkver] First and foremost, on the fact that the international public's attention has recently been drawn specifically to this problem. When preparing television programs I myself have had occasion to see truly horrifying films of chemical weapons victims during the Iran-Iraq war. Scientific reports show that even more terrible types of chemical weapons are to come. Suffice it to recall U.S. binary weapons, one drop of which is enough to kill someone. Tomorrow is the seventh anniversary of then-President Reagan's decision on the wide-scale production of such weapons.

[Ptashnikov] Yes, but it is by no means a secret now that we—our country—also possess chemical weapons.

[Zholkver] Yes, unfortunately. However, I would like to point out that our country has not unilaterally ceased their production, but starting this year is embarking on the destruction of their stocks, once again unilaterally, without even waiting for a corresponding international convention to be concluded.

[Ptashnikov] As far as I understand it, you believe such a convention will still be signed. As for other countries, what do you think? Will they follow our example?

[Zholkver] I hope so. Grounds for such hopes have increased recently. Let us take such a complex problem as verification. Until recently, the mania—I would say—of supersecrecy, including in our country, has made a solution to this problem difficult. However, in preparing the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, a principally important breakthrough on this question was achieved. An effective verification mechanism, including mutual inspections of factories that manufacture missiles as well as testing grounds for their destruction, was worked out and already has been put into effect. I believe that this experience could easily be transferred to chemical weapons as well. The first steps in this direction have already been taken. Western military experts have acquainted themselves with our installation for the destruction of chemical weapons at Shikhany, and our specialists have been to similar sites in the United States and Britain.

[Ptashnikov] Yes, but mainly we have been speaking only about the positions of the United States and the Soviet Union. But other countries also have chemical weapons. What is their position?

[Zholkver] I would remind you that the recent Paris conference on problems of chemical weapons was attended by representatives of 150 states, and they all spoke out in favor of banning and destroying these terrible armaments. So I would say that a clear instruction has been given to the Geneva conference, and I think that taking into account the overall international situation—and it is typified by the new political thinking and increasing goodwill—there is every reason to hope that at Geneva, despite the undeniable difficulties that exist—and I would like to emphasize this—effective measures will be taken to rid mankind of the possible horrors of a chemical war.

[Ptashnikov] One would hope very much that these hopes are justified.

Decisions on Vienna Talks 'Inspire Hope'

PM0502173789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Feb 89 First Edition p 3

[Article by Major General V. Tatarnikov: "'The Decisions in Vienna Inspire Hope,' Major General V. Tatarnikov, member of the Soviet delegation at the Vienna Meeting, Believes"]

[Excerpts] The Vienna meeting of CSCE member states, which lasted more than 2 years, ended with the adoption of a meaningful and balanced final document. In parallel with this process the Warsaw Pact and NATO countries formulated the mandate of the talks on conventional armed forces in Europe. [passage omitted]

The talks will begin in Vienna on 8 March 1989 in parallel with the talks on confidence- and security-building measures at the level of member states' foreign ministers.

The Warsaw Pact countries are prepared for these crucial talks. They have elaborated an extensive program of armed forces and conventional arms reduction in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals which contains an integrated concept of the talks and sets specific goals and targets for each of the three stages proposed by us. In view of the innovatory nature and scale of the talks, this entire program is aimed at enabling these talks to develop dynamically and to ensure the earliest achievement of practical accords which will truly and perceptibly lower the level of military confrontation in Europe. This process will also make it possible to sharply reduce military spending and to divert the resources thus released to peaceful purposes.

In parallel with the idea of armed forces reduction, the Warsaw Pact countries have formulated a detailed **concept of the further development of confidence- and security-building measures** so as to make military activity in Europe open. As is well known, this concept was reflected in the special statement adopted at the Foreign Ministers Committee session in Budapest in 1988. The Warsaw Pact countries intend to work for the expansion of the existing confidence-building measures and to formulate a complex of new measures. The talks could be conducted in the following main areas: the elaboration of measures restricting military activity, the extension of confidence- and security-building measures to the military activity of air and naval forces, the invitation of observers to them, and the exchange of the plans of this activity. These measures must be aimed at achieving greater openness and predictability in military activity in Europe.

The Western representatives at the Vienna meeting often used the concepts of "openness" and "transparency" in their speeches although so far they have only applied these concepts to ground forces, whereas these terms are not used in conjunction with naval or air forces. Such a one-sided approach slows the development of a system of confidence-building measures and generates suspicion. Western experts use every argument to explain NATO's commitment to continued secrecy on their forces' activity at sea and in the air: freedom of shipping and flights over neutral waters, the difficulty of organizing observation of the activity of fleets and air forces, and the vulnerability of sea lanes and the air force infrastructure. This is, however, clearly not the point. NATO has great sea and air superiority and does not want to undermine it by openness. I think the NATO countries will review these positions because the time has come to work to eliminate the threat both at sea and in the air.

There is something else which should be noted here. Confidence-building measures must be applied fully to the territory of all member states, including the United States and Canada. And there is a second point: Elaboration of the idea of creating in Europe a center for the prevention of military conflicts and the discussion of the participant states' military doctrines with the aim that all states should in practice switch to purely defensive doctrines in the future should also be important areas of work.

The second forum on military questions—the talks on confidence- and security-building measures planned by the Vienna meeting—also presents an opportunity for the development of confidence and security on the European Continent. The final document says on this score: The member states agreed that the talks on confidence- and security-building measures will be conducted so as to develop and expand the results already achieved at the Stockholm conference with the aim of adopting a new package of complementary confidence- and security-building measures aimed at reducing the danger of

military confrontation in Europe. The talks on confidence- and security-building measures as well as the talks on conventional armed forces will begin in Vienna in March 1989.

I believe this process will be favorably influenced by the Warsaw Pact states' publication of detailed statistics on the correlation of forces between the two largest military-political alliances in Europe—the Warsaw Pact and NATO. These statistics give an objective picture of military confrontation on the continent. The future talks should lead to a significant reduction in confrontation between the sides. However, even this is insufficient to ensure lasting peace in Europe. The European process and life itself demand the opening of talks on the limitation and reduction of naval forces as well as the reduction of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe.

It took a lot of time and persistence to create the opposing groupings in Europe. The process of their reduction, clearly, will not be easy or quick either, although the decisions in Vienna inspire hope for the talks' success and for the establishment of stability and peace throughout Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals.

Bogachev on NATO Modernization, FRG Precedent
LD0802003389 Moscow TASS in English 0009 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 8 TASS—By TASS political observer on military issues Vladimir Bogachev:

The problem of the modernization of NATO nuclear weapons in Europe and the discussion on whether it is necessary to modernize NATO Lance missiles and to deploy in Western Europe and the seas around it more perfect nuclear warheads and their delivery vehicles has acquired an acute political character. NATO global problems—its relationship with the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, the role of nuclear weapons in NATO strategy, disarmament prospects in Europe and special interests of West Germany's security are focused on the nuclear arms modernization problem.

Observers are unanimous in their opinion that the Soviet Union's decisions on the unilateral reduction by half a million of its armed forces, the elimination of a large amount of Soviet military hardware and the withdrawal of a number of Soviet military units from the GDR, Czechoslovakia and Hungary together with nuclear weapons assigned to them became an impetus for the changing of an attitude to nuclear rearmament in a number of NATO countries. Other socialist countries also announced the reduction of their armed forces.

In this situation the support for a nuclear-free Europe is getting stronger among the West German public. According to public opinion polls, the idea is supported by 79 per cent of the country's population. Ahead of the 1990 parliamentary elections, the Kohl government did not wish to ignore West German public opinion and, quite unexpectedly for Washington, refused to support unconditionally the urgent modernization of U.S. nuclear weapons on its territory.

The U.S. Administration seems to regard West Germany's disobedience as a dangerous precedent for other allies. In the opinion of Washington, West Germany's attitude to the modernization is a kind of a test of courage on whose outcome NATO's future depends.

There is no telling if the U.S. succeeds again imposing its modernization decision on all of its NATO partners. However, it is evident that Washington makes today much more effort to reach its military targets than, say, three or four years ago.

The NATO modernization plans are based on the assumptions that could be used in a pre-nuclear age. The deployment of new armaments and the modernization of existing ones do not help resolve some political or economic problems. They only aggravate the danger of a global nuclear war in which there could be neither winners nor losers.

NATO Response to Pact Initiatives Viewed
PM0702151389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Feb 89 First Edition p 3

[Article by observer Vasiliy Pustov under the rubric "World Today: Problems and Opinions": "Still 'From a Position of Strength'?"]

[Text] The week ending today confirmed that the world public not only regards the decision of the USSR and its Warsaw Pact allies to unilaterally reduce their armed forces, along with their statement on the correlation in the numerical strengths of Warsaw Pact and NATO armed forces and arms in Europe and the adjacent waters, as important contributions to the disarmament process. They also set a good example to people who—while expounding on problems of security—don't want to abandon old or new militarist programs and dogmas.

In this respect the following question logically arises: How are the leaders of the North Atlantic alliance and its member countries responding to the socialist states' peace initiatives? The answer is not unequivocal and by and large does not as yet inspire reasonable optimism. Judge for yourselves.

Even NATO members cannot fail to acknowledge that the Warsaw Pact states' constructive steps are designed to reduce the level of military confrontation in Europe. But they accompany this admission with far-fetched reservations that essentially can be expressed as follows: That's fine, but it's not enough. Some people, above all U.S. Defense Secretary J. Tower, go even further, claiming that the "threat remains" all the same. The Warsaw Pact is in effect being asked to continue unilateral reductions in its military might, while leaving everything in NATO as it was before.

Nonetheless, even in NATO offices people cannot brush our constructive initiatives aside so easily. Under the influence of these initiatives, people there are also beginning to think about their own potential proposals in the disarmament sphere. "We will lower the ceiling still further," NATO Secretary General M. Woerner promised. "For instance, our proposal on tanks is as follows: We propose to leave each side only 20,000 tanks."

One cannot fail to point out that no concrete decisions have been made as yet. There has been no action. There are only words about good intentions, and it is well known where the road paved with good intentions can lead. Especially since people in NATO do not proceed from general human or even general European interests on questions of arms reduction but pursue their own selfish goals. For instance, instead of comparing the two alliances' forces with a consideration for all the components of these forces, they make comparisons based on selective data that suit the Atlanticists and overemphasize Warsaw Pact advantages in tanks, for instance. They refuse to take into consideration the combat power of strike aviation and naval forces, where NATO has clear superiority. They refuse to even think of any reduction in these areas.

Even if there is a considerable relaxation of tension between the United States and the USSR, J. Tower states, the United States "will still need considerable potential for transferring its forces" to various areas of the globe. The U.S. Navy is not only the main means of carrying out these transfers. It is above all the aircraft carriers, submarines, and other big ships equipped with modern weapons, including cruise missiles. The Navy is a major strike force with a clearly offensive character. At the same time it is also a tool for blackmail and military pressure. It is not for nothing that the Pentagon chief describes U.S. aircraft carriers as a "precision instrument that can most persuasively argue a particular point of U.S. diplomacy." There are many examples of U.S. carrier-based aircraft drumming such "arguments" into the minds of other countries' peoples with missiles and bombs.

The plans for the latest headlong rush for military superiority are being drawn up on the other side of the Atlantic. The notorious concept of "competitive strategies," which is designed to outstrip the Soviet Union in creating high-precision strike systems, is put forward as theoretical justification for this. Its significance for Europe is stressed here.

At the same time the calls to modernize the bloc's nuclear arms have not only not been abating recently in the Pentagon and NATO staffs but, however paradoxical it may seem, have been heard even more loudly recently, which is causing concern even among circles traditionally far removed from sympathy for our country. Lord Bonham Carter in the British Parliament's House of Lords is noteworthy in this respect: "NATO's response to a whole series of initiatives from Gorbachev and his colleagues that would appear unprecedented, unexpected, and positive by any standards, has been disappointing."

The peer's concern coincides with British public discontent reflected in the article "Bunker Mentality" published in THE INDEPENDENT. The article reports that Britain is elaborating plans for creating a new computer and telecommunications system to keep the country's leadership informed in the event of nuclear war. "Nuclear war," THE INDEPENDENT warns, "has consequences that are too serious to allow people who can survive it in bunkers to deal with questions of how to act if it does arise." The newspaper points out that only the country's supreme leaders and military officials can survive such a war there, not the people.

Reports revealing the essence of the nuclear rearmament that the bloc's leadership is seeking are a grim reminder that the NATO staffs are continuing to think about the possibility of such a war and about making preparations for it. Under the guise of "modernizing" tactical nuclear weapons (above all the "Lance" missiles with a range of up to 110 km), there are plans to produce and commission a new "Lance-2" missile with a range of up to 500 km and "air-to-surface" missiles for strike aircraft, of which NATO has 4,075 units in Europe—50 percent more than the Warsaw Pact. Thus, plans are being made to further reinforce tactical strike aviation, which has even greater destabilizing qualities than tanks since it can carry out truly lightning attacks to a very great depth. All this is camouflaged by the agreement to somewhat reduce types of nuclear weapons like the 155-mm and 203-mm artillery mounts with nuclear charges that NATO considers to be outmoded. A corresponding report from U.S. General J. Galvin, NATO supreme allied commander in Europe, is to be presented to the bloc's Nuclear Planning Group for examination in April.

What are the prospects of these not particularly cunning plans being implemented? Let me point out right away that all is not going smoothly for their U.S. and NATO creators. It is only in official London that they are meeting with unconditional support. By and large people in the West attach great significance to the talks due to begin 6 March in Vienna between 23 countries on conventional arms in Europe, and the talks involving the 35 European countries on confidence- and security-building measures. The movement of the Western countries' progressive public in favor of holding talks with the USSR on the reduction and elimination of tactical nuclear weapons is also expanding.

This can be seen most clearly in the FRG, which is explained by a number of circumstances. First, the results of public opinion polls there show that the danger of war is greater from the United States than the USSR and that the East does not now pose a considerable threat. The Western press cites as clear evidence of these

sentiments a statement by a high-ranking Bundeswehr officer to the effect that it is time for West Germany to stop playing the role of the good boy in NATO.

Second, there is the growing realization within the FRG—what the West calls the "NATO front line"—that tactical nuclear weapons, particularly missiles, pose a deadly threat above all to the Germans themselves. Government circles cannot fail to take this into account. Thus Chancellor H. Kohl, who does not object in principle to modernization, cannot bring himself at this time to agree to its implementation. The Soviet leader's speech at the United Nations and the recent Soviet proposals, Britain's DAILY TELEGRAPH writes, "have clearly dealt a final blow to the attempt by H. Kohl's government to modernize short-range nuclear weapons."

However, attempts to try to get agreement from Bonn and the West German public for "modernization" are continuing. Elaboration is under way of the so-called NATO general concept, to which it is planned to give official status at the bloc council's spring session in London and which is primarily to the advantage of Washington and London. It is a question of a document that would enshrine the NATO countries' "common stance" on replacing some nuclear systems with other—more sophisticated and dangerous—systems. The aim is obvious: to give the North Atlantic alliance the chance to hold the coming Vienna talks "from a position of strength."

By adopting the decision and embarking on unilateral reductions in their armed forces, the USSR and its allies are endeavoring to render the process of curbing the arms race irreversible. One cannot help but see this as a shift from overarming to reducing military might to the level of reasonable defense sufficiency.

Such responsible steps are being taken in the quite natural hope of reciprocal restraint on the part of the NATO countries. Voices can now be heard increasingly in the West in favor of giving an appropriate response to the Warsaw Pact states' peace initiatives and demonstrating a similar readiness for the speediest progress along the path of strengthening strategic stability and security on our continent. This also presupposes unilateral measures from the countries of the North Atlantic alliance to reduce their armed forces. The future will tell whether people in NATO are heeding these voices or whether they will continue to disregard the aspirations of the peoples of Europe.

Gerasimov, Rogachev Give Press Briefing 7 Feb

Protest Lodged With Sierra Leone

LD0702145289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1338 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow, 7 Feb (TASS)—The USSR Foreign Ministry has made a resolute protest in connection with the illegal actions of the Sierra Leone authorities which seized the Soviet scientific research ship *"Akademik Mstislav Keldysh"* in Freetown on 4 February. It has demanded the immediate release of the vessel. Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, announced at a briefing here today that Sierra Leone's charge d'affairs ad interim in Moscow was invited to the USSR Foreign Ministry on 6 February and handed a statement.

It says that the USSR Academy of Sciences scientific research ship *"Akademik Mstislav Keldysh"* entered the port of Freetown to replenish stocks of water and to take on foreign specialists for tests on deep-water research equipment on board. In accordance with Sierra Leone practice, such ships can enter the country's ports after notification has been given by radio to the firm acting as agent by the ship's captain, which is what was done 72 hours before the ship made the port call. The rules in operation were thus complied with.

"However," the USSR Foreign Ministry statement notes, "various kinds of fabrication, lacking in elementary common sense, are piling up about the Soviet vessel. The strictly scientific research vessel is being made out to be almost a military ship that illegally entered the territorial waters of Sierra Leone. This all gives grounds for believing that this is a case of deliberate provocation."

The fact that this is not the first unfriendly act with regard to our country undertaken by the Sierra Leone authorities over the last 2 weeks is striking. "Such actions force us to doubt the Sierra Leone leadership's intentions of maintaining good relations with the Soviet Union," the statement points out.

The document expresses the hope that "the Sierra Leone side will once again seriously weigh all the possible consequences to which its unfriendly steps with regard to the USSR could lead."

The *"Akademik Mstislav Keldysh"* is a well-known research vessel in international scientific circles. Scientists from many countries have worked on board, and it entered Freetown in order to take on board West German and British specialists for joint work.

Opposition Clashes in Afghanistan

LD0702191289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Andrey Ptashnikov report]

[Text] Now, esteemed comrades, we will talk about Afghanistan, since it is precisely the situation within that country which was the subject of a briefing held today at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center. The briefing was conducted by Comrade Gerasimov, chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry. There were very interesting details at that briefing. Now please listen to what Comrade Gerasimov talked about, in particular:

[Begin Gerasimov recording] I can tell you that combat operations are going on in the provinces of Herat, Baghlan, and Balkh between armed formations of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan and the Islamic Organization of Afghanistan—that is to say, among the rebels themselves—and in the provinces of Helmand, Laghman, and Qandahar between the Islamic Party of Afghanistan and the DIRA [expansion unknown]—that is, again, fighting among the opposition. Clashes between individual detachments of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan have been noted in the provinces of Kabul and Parvan, as well as fighting between gangs of the Islamic Organization of Afghanistan in the provinces of Takhar and Badakhshan. Politically motivated clashes took place in the (Pabu) regiment of the Islamic Organization of Afghanistan, which is deployed near Peshawar, in January between two leaders, Ahmad Shah and Shir Agol. The former was injured and the latter killed.

Along with the fact that the Islamic opposition members are waging war amongst themselves, they are still concentrating their forces for a strike against the government in the regions of the Hayratan-Kabul, Jalalabad-Kabul and Towraghondi-Herat-Shindand roads. There are 30,000 rebels concentrated here. They are attempting to blockade provincial centers. They are also taking measures to demoralize the population and the garrisons of government troops by means of bombarding the cities and security posts with heavy weapons. In the past week there have been 30 cases of such artillery shelling of the major Afghan cities of Herat, Qandahar, Ghazni, and Jalalabad. The rebels attempted to take the Sorowbi-Jalalabad road, but they were thrust back by government troops, and there were losses on both sides. Fighting is continuing in the province of Qandahar, with the government troops having the advantage. The opposition members were forced to leave a number of fortified positions and stores.

It is possible to speak of a certain change in the morale situation in Kabul. One can identify 5 February as the dividing line, when a march by armed detachments of the PDPA through the streets of the city was held and a speech was made by Najibullah, general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee and president of the Republic

of Afghanistan. He stated that the party had burned its bridges for a retreat and was full of determination to defend the motherland. The inhabitants of Kabul, perceiving the real threat of the accession to power of the extreme right-wing reaction, have begun to prepare for a struggle. The breaking of the economic blockade of Kabul as a result of combat operations in the region of south Salang and the organization of an airlift from the regions of the USSR bordering on Afghanistan served as moral support for the city's population. The food situation in Kabul has improved now, but the lack of fuel is still being felt.

As a guarantor of a political settlement, the Soviet Union intends, after the withdrawal of our troops, to continue to contribute toward stabilizing the situation in Afghanistan, ending the bloodshed, and arranging a constructive dialogue among the opposing sides. An important part in establishing and developing a peace process in Afghanistan belongs to the United Nations. Talks were held in Geneva 30 Jan-3 Feb between the coordinator of the United Nation's programs for humanitarian and economic aid concerning Afghanistan, the so-called UN salam [peace] program, and a Soviet delegation on matters of implementing the Soviet Union's payments into these programs. A convoy of vehicles with food and other essential goods from the West is now being prepared to set off for Afghanistan from Iran, and from the southeast, from Pakistan. Opportunities for using aircraft for the urgent supply of food and medicines for the groups of the population in the greatest need, including the city of Kabul, are being acivated. Transport aircraft are being chartered for this, to set up an airlift to Kabul, supplying 100 to 150 tons of food and medicines per day. It is also being planned to organize supplies of freight within the Salam program by Soviet vehicle convoys from a northerly direction. [end recording]

Beginning of Geneva Session Noted

LD0702150389 Moscow TASS in English 1453 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 7 TASS—The annual session of the disarmament conference which opened in Geneva on February 7, started under the conditions of a considerable improvement in the international climate, Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, told a briefing here. In his words, this was made possible above all by the successful completion of the Vienna meeting and the achieved understanding on the start of talks on limitation of armaments and armed forces from the Atlantic to the Urals.

"The success of the Paris Conference on Chemical Weapons is of special importance for the multilateral forum in Geneva," Gennadiy Gerasimov went on to say. "Participants in the Geneva forum pin their greatest hopes on the solution of this question. The final declaration adopted in Paris calls on the disarmament conference to redouble its efforts to resolve quickly the remaining questions and to achieve even this year a decisive progress in agreeing an international ban on chemical weapons."

Naturally, he added, the Soviet Union is interested in stepping up the work of this important body on other items on its agenda.

Shevardnadze Tour Reviewed

LD0702150289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1352 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow, 7 Feb (TASS)—"The main result of the USSR foreign minister's visit to China is certainly the reaching of an agreement on a concrete date for a Soviet-Chinese summit meeting on 15-18 May this year," USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev said at a briefing here today. "In the opinion of both sides, this meeting will be of historic importance because it will mark the complete normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations. The lengthy and deeply interesting conversation with Comrade Deng Xiaoping, a veteran of the Chinese revolution, made the greatest impression on us."

Dwelling on the world reaction to the talks between the USSR and PRC foreign ministers, Igor Rogachev noted that the general tone was positive, including in many Western countries, where they are increasingly abandoning the old stereotypes in their perception of the actual improvement in Soviet-Chinese relations. Time is showing convincingly that in the modern, interdependent world the improvement of relations between any two countries does not lead to a loss for third countries, but to a gain for all. This applies especially to such large socialist member countries of the United Nations as the Soviet Union and China.

The talks in Islamabad show that both the Soviet and Pakistani sides are coming out in favor of an end to the conflict and the establishment of peace and calm on Afghan soil, and that there is not and cannot be a rational alternative to a political settlement, Igor Rogachev noted. "The road to peace, and here our opinions coincided, lies through the creation of a broadly based government in Afghanistan whose membership and structure must be determined by the Afghans themselves," he went on. "Only they have the right to decide their fate and to determine the specific ways to develop a sovereign, independent, and nonaligned Afghanistan maintaining good relations with all its neighbors."

But this does not mean that the states friendly to Afghanistan must withdraw from Afghan affairs, Igor Rogachev said. They can play a positive role by helping

to bring together the opposing sides to an intra-Afghan dialogue, and by helping to give it a constructive character, first of all by means of pluralist thinking and tolerance.

"The Soviet Union is convinced that a political settlement can become a reality only when all political parties and groups who have declared their participation in the future political life of the country take part in it without exception," Igor Rogachev declared.

Touching on Soviet-Japanese relations, Igor Rogachev said that "unfortunately, a certain hardening of tone has been noted of late in the position of our Japanese colleagues. I do not want to say that relations have worsened—that is a conclusion which goes too far and is perhaps hasty," the deputy minister said in particular. "But I do want to affirm that we are against using the language of ultimatums in the course of talks, from whichever side. We do not resort to such language. And we are not accustomed to being presented with any kind of ultimatums or preconditions".

'Good Prospects' for Pakistani Ties

LD0702195989 Moscow World Service in English 1810 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Excerpts] The Soviet deputy foreign minister, Igor Rogachev, has briefed Soviet and foreign newsmen on the results of the foreign minister, Eduard Shevardnadze's visit to China and Pakistan. [passage omitted]

We would like to hope, Igor Rogachev said, that the talks in Islamabad and the implementation of the agreements achieved will speed up a comprehensive political settlement in Afghanistan. Igor Rogachev said that the current state of Soviet-Pakistani relations featured prominently on the agenda of the negotiations in Islamabad. Both sides voiced the intention to use all opportunities for developing these relations. In response to requests from Pakistan, Igor Rogachev said, the Soviet Union is prepared to give its economic, scientific and technological cooperation with Pakistan a new dimension. For instance, it has been agreed to set up at an early date a bilateral intergovernment commission for trade and economic, scientific and technological cooperation. On the whole, Igor Rogachev said, we believe that Soviet-Pakistani relations do have good prospects.

'International Situation' on U.S., PRC Ties

LD0302200489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 3 Feb 89

["International Situation—Questions and Answers" program, presented by Sergey Pravdin, All-Union Radio foreign political commentator; with Yevgeniy Stefanovich Mengis, deputy head of the TASS U.S. editorial office; Boris Andrianov, Vladimir Pasko, Igor Surguchev, and Yuriy Isayev]

[Excerpts] [Pravdin] Greetings, esteemed comrades. Recently the editorial office has received many letters from people interested in prospects for the further development of Soviet-U.S. relations, who ask why difficulties are arising on this path. Some writers link this directly with the arrival of new senior officials in the Washington administration, such as Defense Secretary Tower, who in the 2 weeks since President Bush took office has managed to speak at various meetings and sessions both in the United States and abroad, delivering speeches and reports which recognize the signing of a number of important Soviet-U.S. agreements but at the same time contain quite a few cold war stereotypes. [passage omitted]

At our microphone today is Yevgeniy Stefanovich Mengis, deputy head of the TASS U.S. editorial office. He will answer your questions.

[Mengis] Indeed, the past few weeks have been rich in important international events. At the Vienna meeting of the states participating in the European process, a final document was adopted in mid-January. In his replies to questions from the PRAVDA editorial office, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev called this an outstanding success bearing witness to the effectiveness of the new realistic approaches to international affairs. Peace is not a gift from above. No one will present it to us, the Soviet leader stressed, pointing out the necessity for stubbornly, persistently, and patiently working to seek solutions and agreements that satisfy everyone.

Also noteworthy is the change of guard in Washington and the swearing-in on 20 January of the new U.S. President, George Bush. It is well-known that the fate of the world depends to a large extent on the policy conducted by such powers as the USSR and the United States. Therefore the peoples of the world express the hope that the Bush administration will display realism and a constructive approach, primarily with regard to Soviet-U.S. relations.

Finally, at the end of the month attention focused on the publication by the Warsaw Pact countries of data on the correlation of the numbers of the armed forces and armaments of the Warsaw Pact and NATO in Europe and in the adjacent seas. On the whole, the West welcomed the publication of this data. According to THE WASHINGTON POST even U.S. military experts, although they do not agree with some of the figures, pay tribute to the boldness of this step.

But now a few words about contacts between the Soviet leadership and the new U.S. leaders. On 23 January there was a telephone conversation between Comrade Gorbachev and Bush. The President expressed gratitude for the congratulations on his accession to his post. He also stated that in his activities he will continue the line of expanding cooperation and deepening mutual understanding for the good of the two countries and of the whole world community. For his part, the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium said that the Soviet leadership attributes great importance to Soviet-U.S.

relations and that the President can count on its readiness to continue searching jointly for ways to further improve these relations, which will undoubtedly influence the situation throughout the world.

[Pravdin] I know that you worked for several years as a TASS correspondent in the United States. In your opinion, how and to what extent have attitudes in the West toward the USSR, toward the Soviet people, changed in recent years?

[Mengis] They have undoubtedly changed and changed greatly. Absolutely everything connected with us now arouses interest in the West. Some recent opinion polls there are interesting. They show that Soviet policy almost always enjoys greater support and popularity among Americans, Englishmen, and FRG citizens than the policies of their own governments.

[Pravdin] You have already mentioned the publication of precise data about the numbers of troops and armaments. Will this lead to a reduction in the level of military confrontation in the old world?

[Mengis] No, no, not by itself. But this creates the basis for progress to be made if the political will exists.

[Pravdin] On the subject of political will, can one say, judging from the first steps of the new Washington administration, if it is showing such will?

[Mengis] Well, let us hope so. To date NATO has not yet given adequate responses to our initiatives. At the conference of the Wehrkunde military-scientific society, which took place a few days ago in Munich, NATO Secretary General Woerner called the USSR's steps in the disarmament field weak and insufficient. At the same forum U.S. Defense Secretary Tower called on Western Europe to begin modernizing its nuclear and conventional armaments. Let us say straight out that this does not yet sound like new thinking.

[Pravdin] One occasionally hears people wondering whether the same thing will happen with the Bush team as happened in the Reagan administration. Instead of constructive dialogue with the USSR, will the new President not adopt a hard line at the start, just as his predecessor did? Will he not put forward conditions which are unacceptable to us?

[Mengis] You know, I often give lectures and at one of them I was asked a similar question. I replied: Let us hope that this will not happen. Today's realities are completely different, the international situation is completely different, and the nature of relations between our two countries is completely different. Already, de facto, missiles are being destroyed in accordance with the INF Treaty. Groups of Soviet and U.S. military inspectors are observing the destruction of the missiles. More and more prospects are being opened up in the most varied spheres. It would simply not be sensible to give this up half-way. Even so, one must admit that some statements by certain administration representatives still manifest the desire to dictate to us.

[Pravdin] Can this cooperation be implemented, for instance, in the sphere of joint searches for ways to resolve acute regional conflicts?

[Mengis] Of course. In fact, this is precisely what we have been seeing recently in the changed approaches to a whole range of such conflicts. It is essential to adopt a different approach to the very idea of peaceful coexistence, taking into account the terrible dangers and the circumstances in which we have all become much more dependent on each other.

[Pravdin] Thank you, Yevgeniy Stefanovich. Many of our listeners ask about the development of Soviet-PRC relations. At the microphone is my colleague Boris Andrianov.

[Andrianov] I imagine that at present all Soviet people are impatiently awaiting news from Beijing. The program of Comrade Shevardnadze's official visit to the PRC ends tomorrow. I think we will soon learn about the results of the Soviet-PRC talks which took place there.

Interest in the present Beijing meeting is truly great. This is understandable because during the talks and conversations, fundamental questions and details connected with the forthcoming Soviet-PRC summit are being discussed. This will undoubtedly be one of the most important events in relations between the two countries since the victory of the Chinese revolution in 1949. It is precisely with this in mind that people in Beijing are noting the importance of continuing the dialogue between the foreign ministers of the USSR and PRC, which began 2 months ago in Moscow. Thus, for example, the weekly BEIJING REVIEW stresses that the Beijing talks are called upon to accelerate the process of normalizing relations and to lay the foundations for a full-scale summit meeting in the very near future, as Deng Xiaoping and other PRC leaders have frequently stated lately.

I would remind you that the process of normalizing Soviet-PRC relations began in October 1982, when the first round of bilateral political consultations on this question took place. It is quite evident what considerable development has taken place in the cooperation between our country and the PRC in the trade and economic, scientific and technical, cultural, and other spheres. Let me cite just a few figures. The total volume of bilateral trade in the past year increased more than 10 times over 1981.

What do we sell to the PRC and what do we receive in exchange? In the past 3 years our country has delivered to our great neighbor 4 million tonnes of steel and pig iron, over 9 million cubic meters of timber, 250,000

tonnes of nonferrous metals, over 2 million tonnes of urea, 63,000 automobiles, as well as aircraft, helicopters, and power engineering and other equipment. Meanwhile the PRC has exported to the USSR 990,000 tonnes of tinned meat, 280,000 tonnes of fruit, 1.5 million tonnes of soya beans, over 4.5 million tonnes of corn, 900,000 tonnes of peanuts, 125,000 tonnes of flour, and textiles and other light industry products.

Here are some examples from another area: In 1983, when the exchange of students was resumed, there were only 10 Chinese students studying in our higher educational establishments and the same number of Soviet students in Chinese VUZ's. But this year the total student exchange will increase to 1,200. Last year a total of 400 delegations from the USSR visited the PRC and vice versa. The Chinese press has written that 6 years ago no one could have dreamed of such a large-scale exchange between the two countries.

Significant progress has been achieved in Soviet-PRC border talks, which resumed the year before last. After three rounds of such meetings, agreement has been reached between the sides on the majority of the eastern sections of the Soviet-PRC border, and consultations have begun with regard to the western part of the border. What is remarkable is that much work in this sphere has been carried out by representatives of the armed forces of the two countries. Such contacts have not existed between us for over 30 years.

I have cited these examples in order to give an impression of how our relations with the PRC are on the upswing and becoming larger in scale.

[Pravdin] Anatoliy Mikhaylovich Shestyuk, a driver with Krymvodstroy trust from Simferopol, points out the difference in opinions between the press and a considerable number of people about help to developing countries. Some people think, he writes, that our country is giving great help to the developing countries to its own detriment. From newspapers, radio, and television we learn that this cooperation is mutually advantageous. From the mass media, Anatoliy Mikhaylovich continues, we know that the United States robs the developing countries. At the same time it is well-known that the International Monetary Fund spends billions on aid. What is the difference between aid from the USSR and the United States? our listener asks. Vladimir Pasko will reply.

[Pasko] [Passage omitted] Many people really have the impression that all the aid we give is nonrepayable. This is not so. What does our aid consist of? In the first place, we agree to help resolve a certain task, and then to grant credits with favorable interest rates. We also give nonrepayable aid but only in extreme situations. In normal conditions any assistance is drawn up in the appropriate agreement on mutually advantageous conditions. To say that we do this to our own detriment is untrue, both from the economic and political points of view. [passage omitted: Pravdin comments on the reasons for low turnout in U.S. elections]

[Pravdin] Ivan Ignatyevich Dergachev, from the village of Rotomek, asks: Who did the four South Kuriles Islands use to belong to? The islands of Shikotan, Urup, Iturup, and Kunashir are components of the Kuriles Islands. Historically all the Kuriles ridge belonged to Russia. In accordance with the San Francisco peace treaty signed in 1951, Japan renounced all rights and claims to the Kuriles islands. [passage omitted: Surguchev comments on electoral process in French and Italian Communist Parties]

[Pravdin] Comrade Vasiliy Yefimovich Khrubatov from the village of Nivka, Gomel Oblast, has sent in two letters in which he insistently asks us to reply to the same question: Why are the United States and the other capitalist states creating new types of weapons and stepping up their military might at a time when the USSR has proposed to the whole world to enter the 3d millenium without mass annihilation nuclear weapons?

Vasiliy Yefimovich is, of course, correct. New weapons are still being created and, it must be supposed, not only in the West. Every state shows concern for its security, and all the more so since no agreement has yet been reached on this specific question. But if the sides conclude a corresponding treaty on, for example, the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, then it is a different matter; then the new treaty would start to be implemented under the appropriate strict verification. [passage omitted: Isayev discusses the chances for peace in Central American; Pravdin defines the meaning of state debt, explains the design of the flags of the British commonwealth countries, states the number of members of the United Nations, and describes U.S. presidential election procedures]

Roundtable Discusses Human Rights Conference

LD0502231789 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1455 GMT 5 Feb 89

[From the "International Program"; "East-West Human Rights Conference" studio roundtable discussion chaired by political observer Igor Fesunenko and featuring Rosalynn Carter, cochairman of the International East-West Human Rights Conference; Anne-Aymone Giscard d'Estaing, conference member; Landrum Bolling, U.S. scholar, public figure, and conference executive council member; Patrick Cormack, British member of Parliament; and Fedor Mikhaylovich Burlatskiy, cochairman of the International East-West Human Rights Conference Executive Council, LITERNATURNAYA GAZETA political observer, doctor of philosophical sciences, and chairman of the Soviet Public Commission for Humanitarian Cooperation and Human Rights attached to the Soviet Committee for European Security; Fesunenko and Burlatskiy speak in Russian, all other participants speak in English with superimposed Russian translation—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Fesunenko] A session of the International East-West Human Rights Conference Executive Council has taken place in Moscow. This international organiza-

tion arose comparatively recently. As far as I can recall, it is not yet a year old. Representatives of several countries are taking part in the Moscow session, including the heads of the organization. Let me start our roundtable meeting by presenting the participants. First, one of the cochairmen of the International East-West Human Rights Conference, Rosalynn Carter, wife of former President Jimmy Carter, a prominent U.S. statesman who is well-known to us. Also taking part in our roundtable is Anne-Aymone Giscard d'Estaing, wife of former President Valery Giscard d'Estaing and well known public figure, who is also a member of the organization. We also have Landrum Bolling a U.S. scholar and public figure who is also a member of the Executive Council. On the other side of our roundtable is Patrick Cormack, a member of the British Parliament. Then we have Fedor Mikhaylovich Burlatskiy: I am presenting him last, but I want to stress that he is cochairman of the International East-West Human Rights Conference Executive Council. You will know him very well: He is political observer of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, current affairs writer, author, scholar, doctor of philosophical sciences, and, particularly importantly in this instance, chairman of the Soviet Public Commission for Humanitarian Cooperation and Human Rights attached to the Soviet Committee for European Security. Those are the participants in our roundtable, and I should now like first to ask Rosalynn Carter to tell Soviet viewers about this international organization, which is comparatively new to us.

[Carter] Our group was set up to press for the release of prisoners of conscience, particularly those who have been imprisoned for their religious beliefs. When our movement was being organized and began its work, we decided to consider the problem of human rights violations in all countries, recognizing that such violations exist in our own states too. We met people from Eastern and Western Europe, the United States and Soviet Union, and discussed with them the violation of human rights in their countries. This time we have come to the Soviet Union, and we are very encouraged by the changes occurring here. We advocate religious freedom and the implementation of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights. We should like the appropriate laws to be passed in the Soviet Union and a legal system created to guarantee the individual freedoms that have now been given to Soviet people. [passage omitted: Burlatskiy says this was the third session of the group, whose aim is to create a better East-West psychological climate]

[Giscard d'Estaing] [Passage omitted: Giscard d'Estaing says she has come as a private citizen and as a Christian] I am glad that with the development of restructuring and glasnost, considerable changes concerning religion are taking place in the Soviet Union. I think that we are all very glad that many prisoners convicted for their religious beliefs have been released and that new draft laws on religion are being examined. I should like to take this opportunity to convey my best wishes to all believers in the Soviet Union. [passage omitted: Bolling, said by Fesunenko to be a Near East specialist, says the United States and the USSR should cooperate on solving the human rights problem in the Near East]

[Cormack] [Passage omitted: Cormack says he has been a member of Parliament for almost 20 years] For many years I was chairman of the parliamentary Committee for Soviet Jewry. For all these years we did not manage to set up a dialogue with our friends in the Soviet Union. But then I met Fedor Burlatskiy, and now I regard him as a very good friend. I trust him. We are discussing questions here that are very important for all of us in an atmosphere of ever-increasing trust. Of course we have our difficulties—for instance, the problem of Northern Ireland, which we discussed at our conference. Fedor Burlatskiy told me it was very useful to know how we are tackling the problem, and how direct rule from Westminster is affecting its resolution. Perhaps you could borrow even a fraction of our experience. [Passage omitted: Cormack explains history of direct rule in Ulster] I spoke at the conference about how we have tackled this problem. Perhaps you could derive some use from this. Of course, the situations are very different, but you in the Soviet Union also have your problems.

[Burlatskiy] [Passage omitted: Burlatskiy says lessons of events in other countries are of interest] It is primarily important to realize that problems of this sort cannot be solved quickly. Time, patience, and compromise are needed; dialogue is needed between the conflicting sides. Second, it is important to realize that on the one hand government decisions are needed, and, on the other, serious changes are required in political culture and public opinion. It seems to me that all this is important and interesting in order to get a better understanding of the specific and particular problems that we have now come up against in our own country. [passage omitted: participants agree on opposition to terrorism; Bolling says it is good that human rights can be discussed openly]

[Burlatskiy] There has been a rapprochement in the positions of representatives of the West and East. It is very easy to notice that in our country we have recently been devoting more and more attention to civil and political rights. New laws are being prepared and sharp debates are under way not just about each law, but about each article of the laws concerning civil rights, aspects of travel abroad, questions of glasnost and information, questions of freedom of conscience, and the criminal code. On the other hand, we can see that representatives of the West—and this has become apparent at our conference—have started to talk more and more of social and economic rights. [Passage omitted: Fesunenko asks Rosalynn Carter about the planned Moscow rights conference]

[Carter] I should primarily like to dwell on the role we could play in preparing for the 1991 Moscow conference. We shall have further discussions on this with Mr Burlatskiy and others. We should very much like to make

our contribution to this conference. In May of this year we plan to meet at the Carter Center in Atlanta, and one of the points on the agenda for our meeting will be the questions of our contribution to the preparation of the Moscow conference. [Passage omitted: Carter praises Gorbachev's UN speech and describes the Carter Center's work in the Third World and the worldwide popularity of Gorbachev; Cormack says Western Europe has an important role to play in the conference; Bolling says the present Moscow meeting revealed the interdependence of different types of human rights; Burlatskiy expresses hope that his commission will have a large number of enthusiasts]

[Fesunenko] I'd like to conclude our meeting with the following remarks. Our country, as you know, has entered a new stage in its development. The term perestroyka is known throughout the world without the need for translation. One of the most important stages and one of the main processes of restructuring is the great attention we are currently devoting to human rights and guarantees for these rights. We are, as it were, attempting to raise ourselves to a higher level of development of socialist society. We are really beginning to understand the true significance of the undeviating observance of human rights in the life of civilized society, in the life of a law-governed state. In this process we do not, of course, reject foreign experience. We see it as very important and useful. From this point of view it seems to me that the International East-West Human Rights Conference, which the participants here represent, plays a very important role and does much useful work, and I would like to wish all you esteemed ladies and gentlemen success in this work and thank you for appearing on this program. Thank you and all the best. [video shows participants seated in studio]

Gerasimov Comments on Glasnost, Foreign Ties

AU0302154489 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian
2 Feb 89 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Information Directorate, by special correspondent Raycho Radulov in Moscow: "This Is Where the News Starts"; date not given; first six paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] Moscow, No 4, Zubovskiy Avenue. This is the address of the International Press Center. The center of glasnost—as the accredited correspondents usually call it.

There are 480 correspondents in Moscow, from the largest world news agencies, television companies, newspapers, and magazines. A representative of Voice of America recently also received his permanent accreditation in Moscow. Everyday, and sometimes even twice or three times a day, briefings or press conferences are held here. Meetings with scientists, politicians, cultural figures, economic leaders, cooperative farmers, or leaseholders are being arranged.... News and data about the Soviet economy, the Soviet military doctrine, the progress of restructuring, and glasnost starts here and travels around the world. A few years ago correspondents still complained about a lack of sufficient information; now they can hardly cope with it. Glasnost in Soviet foreign policy has exerted its impact on their work. They are always on the alert, with their bags packed: on their way to Semipalatinsk, the experimental base for underground nuclear tests, or to Krasnoyarsk to get acquainted with the construction of the famous radar station, to Armenia, or to the Baltic republics.

This center of glasnost is headed by Gennadiy Gerasimov, or as our Western colleagues call him, Mr Gennadiy Glasnost Gerasimov.

[Radulov] Who are you, Gennadiy Gerasimov? This is one of the few questions he has not been asked.

He is himself, the eagerly awaited spokesman of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Nevertheless, he was born in 1930 in Kazan and lived in the Far East. He graduated from the Moscow Foreign Relations Institute and started working for an academic degree, but soon sacrificed this career to journalism. He worked for the NOVOYE VREMYA journal, for the daily TRUD, and for the PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM journal in Prague. For 3 years he worked at the CPSU Central Committee apparatus, and then went back to journalism as a NOVOSTI political commentator, as the new agency's correspondent in the United States, and as editor in chief of MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI. Since 1986 he has been chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

As a journalist he has connections with Bulgaria, being the winner of the Golden Pen Prize awarded by the Bulgarian Journalists Union.

[Gerasimov] As a correspondent in the United States I worked for a long time for VECHERNI NOVINI. I was something like their correspondent. After they invited me to be a guest, I received the Golden Pen Prize and spent a few days in Pamporovo. I even wrote an article: "Palm Beach—Pamporovo," in which I compared my impressions of both resorts.

[Radulov] You and Marlin Fitzwater, the White House spokesman, developed a very original form of dialogue reflecting the new political thinking. Your joint briefings in the United States and Moscow earned the unanimous admiration of all journalists. You impressed us not only with facts, but also with your general mood, a subtle sense of humor, and efficiency. Should we expect any changes in the work of the Gennadiy Gerasimov-Marlin Fitzwater duet?

[Gerasimov] This cheerful mood certainly reflected the mood of Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan and was inspired by the positive results of the summit meetings. Will I work with Marlin again? Toward the end of last summer Marlin sent me a letter in which he

spoke in a very flattering tone about our cooperation, and announced that he was about to write his memoirs. He proposed that we write something together. He was about to take leave of the White House. We met in New York this autumn and joked about his proposal; it had already been announced that he would remain with the new President George Bush. This is why writing the memoirs will be postponed. I think we will pursue our cooperation, even in different ways. Yesterday I received a telephone call from Alaska. The leaders of this state would like to organize a dogsled race between Fitzwater and me on 23 February 1989. This is when Marlin will be in Anchorage on his way to the Japanese emperor's funeral. If I can find a little time I will perhaps meet him for this interesting race.

[Radulov] Can you describe your strongest impression of the summit meetings?

[Gerasimov] I certainly have many strong impressions. The most impressive episode, in my opinion, was the meeting in the Kremlin, when Mikhail Gorbachev invited Ronald Reagan for a walk in Red Square. This was not an organized walk. They walked around the square and their meetings with tourists were moving. This is when Ronald Reagan admitted that the Soviet Union is not the evil empire.

[Radulov] What do you think about George Bush, the 41st U.S. President?

[Gerasimov] I have met George Bush three times. Each time he tried to stay in Ronald Reagan's shadow. Even at the last meeting, when he was already the president-elect—and the meeting took place on Governor's Island at the luncheon in honor of Mikhail Gorbachev—George Bush insisted on behaving like a vice president, namely as No 2. However, when it was mentioned in the conversation that some Americans are not interested in the success of restructuring in the Soviet Union, since in that case the Soviet Union would become stronger, Bush categorically interfered, insisting that he did not know such people. It was his personal conviction that restructuring is in the interest of all peoples, including those in the United States.

[Radulov] You have been a member of Mikhail Gorbachev's team on several occasions. How would you describe him, in a few words?

[Gerasimov] It is difficult for me to describe Mikhail Gorbachev's character. He is, of course, a charismatic indiviual, as the Americans say. He draws people toward him, and you have the feeling that he is a leader whom people are willing to follow.

[Radulov] What about your opinion of Ronald Reagan? Some people say that he is an actor rather than a politician.

[Gerasimov] This may be so. He was an actor, and this has marked his whole life. Many people have observed that he is still acting a little. For example, Reagan never memorizes his speeches.Nevertheless, people never believe he is reading. I remember his speech at the United Nations. He always looked at the audience. This was quite impressive. When he finished and left the hall, diplomats and ambassadors, all serious people, rushed to the rostrum in order to see how the electronic "prompter" was constructed.

[Radulov] How do you evaluate sense of humor as a weapon in the hands of diplomats. Is it an impediment or an asset?

[Gerasimov] Sense of humor is always an asset in life. We should not take everything seriously. Sense of humor is a specific safety valve. However, it can also be an impediment if your partner has no such sense of humor.

[Radulov] What about your forecasts for 1989?

[Gerasimov] This will depend on the political events we are about to witness. The year did not start off badly. The Vienna CSCE final document was signed after 27 months. We are now expecting Bush to define his foreign policy. He has elected to take his own "time out." An intense working year is awaiting us, filled with many visits. Mikhail Gorbachev is planning numerous trips abroad; he is expected to visit quite a few countries. Actually, he has to fulfill some obligations in this respect; such as his visits to the United Kingdom and Cuba, which as you know were called off in December because of the earthquake in Armenia. A summit meeting between the USSR and China is on the agenda.... If our foreign minister's visit to China proceeds normally the summit meeting may be held soon. Then we will have good relations with all countries, except for Albania.

[Radulov] Can you describe the happiest and saddest moments of your work over the last 3 years?

[Gerasimov] Correspondents ask different questions. If I find an appropriate answer, this is good. If I say that I do not know, it is not very nice. Thus, every day brings small satisfactions and small sorrows. It is good that there are no great sorrows. Great joys, however, are also rare. The truth should be known, regardless of whom it serves. I often have to announce sad news, about disasters and earthquakes.... Nevertheless, there have been gratifying announcements by our leadership, such as the unilateral moratorium on underground nuclear tests, the cuts of the military budget, and army reductions.... In such cases we are advancing along ascending lines. We can show the world that we are implementing the new political thinking in deeds and not only in words.

United States & Canada

Bush Encounters Difficulties in Tower Approval

PM0702130189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Feb 89 Second Edition p 1

[Vitaliy Gan dispatch under the rubric "Abroad. Correspondent Comments": "Fly In The Ointment"]

[Text] Washington, 6 Feb—To the disappointment of the White House, the process of the Senate's approval of G. Bush's candidates for ministerial posts has run into serious delay. The Armed Services Committee of the U.S. Congress' upper chamber unexpectedly postponed voting on the question of appointing former senator J. Tower to the post of defense secretary.

No one could have predicted this decision on the part of the legislators. Although the committee hearings did not go smoothly from the outset, the new administration was not in any doubt as to their successful outcome—after 24 years on Capitol Hill Tower was quite able to rely on devotion and loyalty from friends and acquaintances. Moreover, his reputation as a highly qualified professional in the military-political sphere was not disputed.

These fond hopes have not as yet been justified. The senators were by and large satisfied with the views and positions on U.S. military policy and the approach to talks and agreements with the Soviet Union on arms reduction that Tower expressed at the hearings, despite the fact that they were frequently reminiscent of the defiance of an uncontrolled "hawk." Everything went smoothly here. The senators did not in effect bat an eyelid even when it was confirmed that Tower had all this time been actively cooperating with military-industrial corporations while acting as a paid lobbyist for seven major Pentagon subcontractors. Complications arose when the committee set about investigating reports regarding the candidate's personal life. In particular, a host of questions dealt with the claim which has come to light time and time again that Tower is "excessively" fond of alcohol and womanizing. It must be said that even prior to the submission of his candidacy, the FBI spent several weeks investigating the smallest details of Tower's life and activities, laying the emphasis on precisely these charges. The results of the investigations have not been made public. Bush nonetheless deemed it possible to choose him. That is why it was believed that there was nothing compromising in Tower's career, and that the rumors had simply not been confirmed.

The "bombshell" was dropped by Senators S. Nunn and J. Warner, who announced at a news conference their decision to postpone the scheduled vote on Tower's candidacy "in the light of new charges." Warner even had a meeting on the subject with a White House spokesman and the FBI deputy assistant director, whom he asked to initiate a fresh investigation. No one will now agree to comment on this turn of events, but journalists have become aware that the current package of charges also concerns Tower's domestic conduct and in effect, as one observer said, "his personality and the degree of confidence in him." Come what may, the White House announced that President Bush "has confidence in Tower and insists on the speedy examination of his candidacy."

It has turned out that Tower is by no means the administration's only headache. The President yesterday found himself facing a torrent of questions on whether the strength of his slogan on "the importance of government representatives observing morality" was convincing. Specifically, it was a question of whether L. Sullivan, J. Kemp, and C. Yeutter, whom Bush has nominated for the posts of health secretary, secretary for housing and urban development, and agriculture secretary respectively, had violated ethical norms by taking money and other gifts from companies and organizations.

The White House asserts that it has absolutely no worries regarding Bush's chosen nominees' passage through the Senate. Understandably, one should hardly expect any other reaction. For the new President would not acknowledge his own imprudence and incorrectness in his choice of the members of the "team" with which he will have to steer the U.S. ship of state. Nevertheless it is obvious that a considerable problem has already appeared during the new administration's traditional "honeymoon." How many more will there be?

Bush Urges Cooperation To Combat Air Terrorism

LD0702125489 Moscow TASS in English 1230 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] Washington February 7 TASS—U.S. President George Bush called for greater international cooperation in the fight against air terrorism.

Speaking on Monday at a ceremony to swear in new U.S. Transport Secretary Samuel Skinner, the President said the administration would not rest until all possible steps were made to ensure the safety of air travel in America.

Bush announced that Skinner would lead a U.S. delegation to a special session of the International Civil Aviation Organisation (ICAO) in Montreal next week. The President said the transport secretary had a mandate to do everything possible at the session to help the international community put an end to air terrorism.

In this connection one may recall numerous Soviet official requests for the extradition of the father and son Brazinskas air terrorists, who have been residing in the United States for about 13 years now.

On October 15, 1970, they hijacked an Aeroflot plane that left Batumi and by using firearms forced the crew to land in Turkey. The bandits murdered air hostess Nadezhda Kurchenko, 19, and wounded three crewmen.

Despite the Soviet Union's demands, the Turkish authorities refused to hand the criminals back. In 1976 the criminals turned up in the United States.

In reply to petitions sent by the Soviet public and to letters from the relatives of Nadezhda Kurchenko and crewmen of the Aeroflot plane, U.S. authorities often justify their inaction by saying that the Brazinskas' committed their crime before the United States joined the Hague convention for the suppression of unlawful seizure of aircraft in 1971.

Commentator Finds Scowcroft Views Out of Tune
PM0702171189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
8 Feb 89 First Edition p 5

[Gennadiy Vasilyev "Viewpoint": "Voice Test"]

[Text] Each new U.S. Administration begins its policy as though afresh or, to use a musical term, with a sight reading. This is so that even when representatives of the same party enter the country's leadership, there is continuity. A new company, a new show, a new political orchestra. And until the curtain goes up, until the entire cast appears on the public stage—which will happen after Congress has appointed and approved the secretaries and leaders of other departments and the main areas of policy, domestic and foreign, have been formulated—the audience can only listen to the voices reaching them from behind the scenes.

Brent Scowcroft, the U.S. President's new national security adviser, took his "voice test" recently. His recitation was heard in an ABC TV transmission. The president's assistant was answering a request from an ABC commentator to "give his personal assessment of Gorbachev's peace offensive" (the discussion was on the Soviet leader's UN address and the Soviet Union's unilateral initiatives in reducing its Armed Forces).

Scowcroft said: "In my opinion, this is primarily a recognition that the USSR urgently needs a period of stability if not a tangible improvement in relations, so as to be able to tackle a difficult problem connected with the attempts to restructure the economy." In addition to this main goal, he said, by reducing its Armed Forces the Soviet Union is seeking to "cause strife among the Western countries." And generally speaking, he added, the cold war has not ended.

As the well-known bard said, "each man writes as he hears, each man hears how he breathes." Mr Scowcroft says what he thinks needs to be said. That is his right. But in exactly the same way we are entitled to express our view on these assessments. Especially since, if you look closely, you will see that this is a very important question—the origin of our country's love of peace.

I cannot agree that the chief, if not the sole reason for the Soviet Union's peace initiatives is our internal affairs. History has convincingly demonstrated that, whenever there has been a threat to the country's security, our people have always found the strength to mobilize, whatever the difficulties. Yes, we are committed to creating the most favorable external conditions for our restructuring. We are seeking to switch as many resources as possible from the defense industry sphere to civilian needs (something that, in the opinion of many Americans, must also be done in the United States if it wants to successfully solve the problem of its enormous budget deficit). But we are acting on the basis of the general philosophical concept of an interrelated and integral world on the eve of the third millennium. We are acting on the basis of an awareness of the absolute limits of power and of the fact that the most important issue today is that of mankind's survival and self-preservation. This awareness finds concrete expression in the new military doctrine adopted by the Warsaw Pact states, in their move toward the principle of reasonable defense sufficiency.

As for our alleged intention to "split the Western countries," I would like to answer this with a question. Why does the United States not try by the same method, through voluntary unilateral reductions of its Armed Forces and armaments, to "split" the socialist countries? We'll "split" you, and you us. And then, perhaps, it will be possible to attain the goal the socialist countries are calling for—the elimination of the two opposing military-political blocs.

Incidentally, U.S. President G. Bush saw fit at his news conference to distance himself from B. Scowcroft's pronouncement about the cold war, by saying that anyone who uses that term is "not taking into due consideration the progress that has been made in our (Soviet-American—G. Vasilyev note) relations."

When one examines what is happening at the moment on the banks of the Potomac, one cannot help noticing a disturbing trend. Certain people in the new U.S. "team," and people close to it, are making loose statements which are definitely out of keeping with the talk about continuity in the new U.S. Administration's policy, and reek of the ways of the day before yesterday. B. Scowcroft is not alone in this. Paul Nitze, the well-known expert on Soviet-American relations, has just made some unconstructive pronouncements. Essentially, he is urging the West to obstruct economic relations with the Soviet Union which might contribute to the transformations taking place in the USSR. This opinion, which he is obviously trying to impose on the West European countries too, flagrantly contradicts the mood of broad circles of the world public, who consider that our restructuring meets the interests not only of Soviet people, but of people all over the world.

The new U.S. Administration is engaged in making its policy. The process is taking place under specific historical conditions in which there is a mounting feeling everywhere in favor of "codevelopment" and "cocreation" in building a universal peace worthy of the

21st century. And if the first statements by the new U.S. Administration figures can be compared to a voice test by soloists who sometimes let out squeaks, the universal chorus of hope and optimism is like the finale of Beethoven's 9th Symphony, performed at UN celebrations, when the words of Schiller's ode: "Millions, embrace!" ring out within the walls of the worldwide organization.

James Baker Ignores Changed Situation
PM0802193989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
8 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 5

[S. Dardykin article: "Has Nothing Really Changed?"]

[Text] The first natural reaction when reading through the interview in question is to look at the magazine's cover again. Is this really the latest issue? Is it really this year? But yes, it is all correct. The very latest issue. And the year on the cover is 1989. And it was J. Baker, questioned by TIME as U.S. secretary of state, who had entered office just days before. It all seemed to be today's news except for the interview itself.

Let us omit the section where Baker says that the Soviet Union's role in a Near East settlement will only be constructive when it—the Soviet Union, that is—expands its emigration even further. And the section where the secretary of state complains about our support for regimes (Nicaragua) which do not share its (the United States') ideals. Let us be content that in the first instance Baker has no categorical objections to Soviet participation in a settlement and that in the second he does not want to automatically exclude the possibility of talks with us. Let us be thankful for small mercies—neither categorically nor automatically. Therefore, let us omit those sections, especially since from today's standpoint there is another fragment of the secretary of state's interview which is far more surprising. Let us quote it in full.

TIME asked Baker whether he agreed with the statement by Scowcroft, the President's national security adviser, that the "Soviet peace offensive" is designed to create problems for the Western alliance.

"We must recognize," Baker replied, "that the Soviet Union is still a very well armed power with interests inimical to the United States. I do not believe that it has abandoned the policy which it has pursued for a very, very long time and which consisted in testing NATO, probing the ground, and looking for weaknesses."

At this point I wanted to check the cover again: Did it not date from the times when to them we were exclusively the "evil empire," and when we could not explain any of their actions other than as "imperial ambitions"? So since that time had nothing changed for Baker, either in us, in our relations with America, or in their relations with us? Could Soviet-U.S. summit meetings, leaving aside all the other numerous contacts, be regarded merely as testing the ground on our part? And the deadlock which had been broken in the disarmament process and our unilateral steps in that direction—they were just a desire to test NATO and seek out weaknesses? Yes, we are still a very well armed power, just like the United States, by the way. And our interests do not coincide on many points, although on the main one, it seems to us, they cannot fail to meet—namely, on the need to end the hostility and the suspicion which feeds it, and to try to enshrine in bilateral relations that "new closeness" which President Bush spoke of in his inaugural address and which, as practice has shown, benefits not only us.

Thus 30 American specialists in U.S.-Soviet relations have urged the White House "to use every opportunity to achieve further improvement and even a leap forward in relations between the United States and the USSR." Not only is this issue of TIME the very latest, but the times themselves have changed, too. Let no one have any doubts on that.

Trust Urged in Developing U.S.-Soviet Relations
PM0602124989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
4 Feb 89 Second Edition p 4

[Article by political observer Vitaliy Korionov "Security Through Trust"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] An important role in the solution of priority international problems is played by Soviet-U.S. relations. An unquestionable breakthrough has been achieved in this sphere over the past 3 years. However, what has been achieved is only the beginning of clearing the road. Ensuring continuity, proceeding further along this promising road, adding new specific content to the developing relations—this is what peoples are expecting above all from the new Washington administration.

A few days ago J. Baker, during congressional hearings to confirm him in the post of Secretary of State, set forth "five principles" on the basis of which relations between the United States and the USSR should be built in the opinion of the Bush administration. "First," he declared, "we must continue to welcome the reforms and changes in the Soviet Union; second, while acknowledging that Moscow's new policy is dictated by a new sense of realism, we must understand that our policy has contributed to this sense of realism; third, we must continue to attentively follow all aspects of Moscow's actions in the field of arms control, human rights, regional conflicts, and bilateral relations; fourth, we must pay additional attention to regional conflicts; and fifth, we probably need a new category in our relations to deal with global problems such as terrorism, drugs, and environmental protection."

The press also reports that the G. Bush administration intends to send two important Soviet-U.S. treaties to the Senate for ratification—the Treaty on Underground Nuclear Explosions for Peaceful Purposes (1976) and the

Treaty on the Limitation of Underground Nuclear Weapon Tests (1974). It seems that the practical implementation of these intentions would not be a bad indicator of the continued development of Soviet-U.S. relations on a realistic basis.

Peoples' vital interests demand categorically that the madly spinning wheel of the arms race be brought to a halt. The opportunities for achieving this aim are at present more favorable than they have ever been. The truth about Soviet policy, which is embodied so strikingly in our restructuring, glasnost, and openness, has considerably increased the Soviet Union's credit of trust in the West. However, let us not overestimate it. It has still not definitively outweighed the former distrust. The scales continue to fluctuate. The publication of objective data on the correlation of Warsaw Pact and NATO force strengths and armaments will make it possible for millions of people in the West to acquire a source of truthful information. The business of resolving a most difficult problem—the demilitarization of Europe—has been given new impetus. The "peace train" is gathering speed.

Nitze's Remarks on East-West Trade Criticized

LD0702154389 Moscow TASS in English 1520 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 7 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Yevgeniy Babenko:

Paul Nitze is a conspicuous figure in American politics. He has just turned 82 and his long diplomatic career is linked closely to Soviet-American negotiations on nuclear armaments. His activity reached its peak in the years when the negotiations were stalled. He is known to have opposed the SALT-2 Treaty, and stressed that the American side would not gain from concluding accords in that area with the Russians.

Nitze is no longer an official, but his opinion still matters in the United States. He has recently made a number of new statements, possibly with a view of returning to office, though for a short time. In a report to a seminar of the Norwegian Atlantic committee in Oslo he criticised Western politicians who are in favour of an expansion of trade and economic relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist states.

Nitze called upon Western countries to renounce any forms of economic assistance to the USSR in carrying out its profound transformations. He said, paradoxical as it seems, that NATO-Soviet economic cooperation would only prevent the realisation of the most important and most essential parts of perestroyka and would hardly meet the interests of the NATO bloc.

All is clear in the first part of the well-known Sovietologist's statement. We know that in the West there are certain circles which believe that the Soviet Union's strengthening due to perestroyka would be detrimental to the capitalist world.

The second part of his statement it is not that clear. It is difficult to immediately understand whether Nitze is for Soviet perestroyka or against it. The conclusion must be that he is against it and that he is even its staunch adversary.

Businessmen are now coming to Moscow from all over the world. They are interested in the development of cooperation with a more open Soviet society which is renewing itself in many spheres of economy, science and culture.

At the same time Paul Nitze warns the West against maintaining relations with the USSR. The West, instead of cooperation, should keep a close eye over the developments in the Soviet Union, and meanwhile it should continue furthering its aims.

Nitze has just received the 1988 Atlantic prize for "outstanding services in furthering NATO's goals". I would add to that wording: also "for a brilliant specimen of old political thinking, being presented as something new".

IZVESTIYA Reports Results of Soviet Poll on U.S.

PM0602111789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 5

[G. Charodeyev report: "What Our Attitudes Are Toward America and the Americans. From Our Correspondent at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center"; for comparison please see two reports previously published in the Soviet Union DAILY REPORT: 18 January, p 23, and 23 January, p 25]

[Text] The USSR Academy of Sciences Sociology Institute, in cooperation with the USSR Foreign Ministry Scientific Coordination Center, conducted an opinion poll in connection with George Bush's election as U.S. President. A total of 800 persons were polled, representing different categories of the adult population in the RSFSR.

The poll's results show in particular that people in our country attach major importance to the state of Soviet-U.S. relations—85 percent of those polled believe this to be very important. Despite the considerable positive improvements in relations between the two states in recent times, 42 percent are dissatisfied with them, 41 percent are satisfied, and 17 percent found it difficult to answer.

Even though the majority of those polled (64 percent) believe that relations between the USSR and the United States will improve over the next 4 years of G. Bush's Presidency, there are nevertheless quite a few—31 percent—who feel pessimistic about their prospects.

Some 48 percent of those polled believe that U.S. policy poses a threat to the USSR's security, while 60 percent found it difficult to answer the question: Is the new White House chief prepared to sign a treaty with the USSR on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms?

Some 93 of those polled believe that Soviet-U.S. summit meetings are expedient.

The following attitudes toward Americans were expressed: profound sympathy—7 percent, amicability—64 percent, indifference—6 percent, caution—12 percent, and hostility—0.2 percent.

The majority of people polled want new U.S. President G. Bush to follow a peace-loving policy and improve and develop relations with the USSR. There were some wishes addressed to the President personally—people wished him good health and success in his work, as well as prosperity for the United States and the solution of the country's domestic political problems.

This was announced at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center.

American Journal Publishes SDI Funding Figures
LD0702073989 Moscow TASS in English 0730 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] New York February 7 TASS— The U.S. Administration intends to spend more than 46 billion dollars on the "Star Wars" programme by 1994, according to an authoritative American journal, AVIATION WEEK AND SPACE TECHNOLOGY.

It is planned to spend 9.5 and 10.7 billion dollars in 1993 and 1994 respectively as against 3.7 billion dollars for the current fiscal year which began on October 1.

The weekly points out that these figures concern only appropriations within the framework of the Pentagon budget. Besides these, it is planned to assign 300 million dollars each fiscal year for these purposes from the budget of the U.S. Department of Energy, AVIATION WEEK AND SPACE TECHNOLOGY reports.

Bessmertnykh Receives U.S. Businessman
PM0802104189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] A.A. Bessmertnykh, USSR first deputy foreign minister, received J. Giffen, a well known representative of U.S. business circles and chairman of an American trade consortium, for a conversation, during which they discussed prospects for economic cooperation between the two countries.

Climatic Studies Cooperation With U.S. Outlined
LD0301194289 Moscow TASS in English 1716 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 3 TASS—Measurement of methane concentration in the atmosphere of high latitude districts will be a new direction of cooperation of Soviet and American environmentalist organisations this year. This research will supplement a vast program of joint work including some 40 various themes developed in the framework of the bilateral 1972 intergovernmental agreement. A TASS correspondent was told this today by Alan Hecht, director of the national agency for the implementation of the climatic program of the USA, staying here in connection with an International Conference of Ecologists in Moscow.

He said that other important themes include studies and prediction of the future climate, experiments for the study of the ozone layer over Antarctica, oceanographic research into the chemical composition of the Pacific waters.

Bilateral cooperation in the environmental protection is of a steady nature, Alan Hecht said. Even in the years when relations betwen the two countries were rather cool, joint work in environmental protection area continued in accordance with programs. Alan Hecht declared for the widening of mutually advantageous cooperation as its results are needed not only for the USA and the USSR but also for the whole world.

China

Upcoming Summit To Help Relations 'Forge Ahead'
OW0802044189 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Pogodin commentary]

[Text] Dear listeners, when Gorbachev attends the summit meeting in China from 15 to 18 May this year, he will lay a good foundation for Soviet-Chinese [word indistinct]. The signing of this agreement was an important result of Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's visit to China. Please listen to a commentary on this question by our station commentator Pogodin:

In order to set the tasks of the meeting in May, we ought to recall a precise and significant saying by Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping—to carry forward the cause and forge ahead into the future. The issue concerns a full normalization of Sino-Soviet relations for the purpose of laying a firm foundation for strengthening the good-neighborly relations and cooperation between the Soviet and Chinese peoples.

Such a position was made possible by the fact that the principled stands of the Soviet Union and China on important international issues have become closer. The theory of new political thinking put forward by Moscow

is identical to the proposition on new political order made by Beijing. There are many other important issues on which the two sides hold almost identical positions, such as various disarmament issues. It is very important that the two sides used to hold diametrically opposite positions on some issues, and now their positions on these issues have become closer. For instance, their positions on mediating the Cambodia issue have become closer to a very great extent.

Differences still exist between the two sides over a few issues, but such a situation is completely natural. The two sides have agreed to continue discussing those issues. In other words, both sides are striving to reach a mutual understanding. The closer positions between the Soviet Union and China, two permanent members of the United Nations Security Council, will no doubt promote peace and stability in certain regions, and in the world as a whole.

We should pay attention to another aspect of the matter. It is very obvious that in their efforts to fully normalize their relations and promote cooperation, the two neighboring socialist countries should not cause any loss in their relations with any third country.

Measures To Ease Sino-Soviet Border Tension Noted
OW0802060089 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Federov commentary]

[Text] Dear friends, we now present a short commentary on the outcome of Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's visit to China. The result of his meetings and talks with Chinese leaders will be the focus of Soviet and Chinese public attention for a long time. During this visit, he also announced the date for the Sino-Soviet summit. Comrade Gorbachev will visit China between 15 and 18 May this year. The following is a commentary by our station commentator Fedorov on the Soviet attitude to measures for reducing military tension along the Sino-Soviet border, which will probably interest our listeners.

Fedorov writes:

Our listeners will probably remember that the Soviet proposals for reducing military tension along the Sino-Soviet border were put forward more than a year ago. The Soviet proposals provided that talks should first be held on confidence-building measures in the military field acceptable to both sides. On this basis, agreement should next be reached on the reduction of military tension and the gradual stabilization of the situation along the border.

As often happens in politics, China itself has also made adjustments on the steps needed to resolve these issues. Before the forthcoming talks, the USSR and China have unilaterally taken important steps, causing the situation to change drastically. The USSR plans to reduce its forces deployed in the eastern and southern territories by 300,000 and 60,000 men respectively. The USSR will also reduce its troops in Mongolia for the second time. This time it intends to reduce the number of troops by three-quarters. At the same time, the USSR has decided to transform the role of Soviet troops along the Soviet-Chinese border into a defensive one. China has also taken corresponding measures to cut its forces unilaterally. Thus a new situation has appeared along the border.

We believe this situation will enable us to move from unilateral actions to coordinated and concerted ones. China also agrees on this point. The USSR and China have agreed to set up a military affairs specialist group. At a press conference in Beijing on 4 February, the Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze expressed his belief that, by the time of the planned summit in mid-May this year, the specialist group will have completed certain tasks. What will the specialist group do? The USSR proposed the commencement of consultation talks on general principles, so that agreements for reducing the proportion of strike capability in each others' Armed Forces, disbanding forces which have been cut, limiting the number and scale of military exercises, and policing each others' troop reduction and the activities of the remaining troops can be reached.

This is only the beginning. Soviet foreign affairs experts believe, in principle, that under the new situation it is not only possible to discuss confidence-building measures in the military field, but also to build absolute trust along the Sino-Soviet border, as mentioned by the Soviet foreign minister.

PRC Academician Notes Prospects for Pacific Peace
OW0302022289 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to Asia-Pacific Region 1300 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] How do China and other countries assess the Soviet Union's foreign policy and its peace proposals for the Asia-Pacific region? Li Shenzhi, vice president of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, in answering an "IZVESTIYA" reporter's questions, expressed his interesting views on this. The following is an excerpt of the interview:

[Question] Many Chinese newspapers regarded Gorbachev's speech at the United Nations as one of the most important events of [words indistinct], and the XINHUA News Agency called the speech the height of the Soviet Union's diplomacy in 1988. How do you assess the Soviet leader's speech?

[Answer] You have probably noted that the reason the XINHUA News Agency assessed the speech in such a highly favorable manner is that it believed in Comrade Gorbachev's decision to unilaterally reduce the Soviet Union's troops and conventional arms. I have carefully read the speech, and found that, in addition to this, there

were many other noteworthy points. The speech is the most (?open-minded), most [words indistinct], and most candid I have heard. I have noted that the new thinking put forward a few years ago is being continually developed. The speech contained many new ideas, especially those concerning new international relations. We are laying a foundation for these new relations. I agree with Comrade Gorbachev that, whoever committed more mistakes in the past is totally [words indistinct], and that we should plant our feet in the current reality and look forward to the future. We attach great importance to new political thinking, and are looking forward to practical moves on this.

[Question] Cutting troops unilaterally is just one of these moves. [words indistinct]

[Answer] The Chinese people have [words indistinct] in this respect. We applaud Gorbachev's peace proposals. Not long ago, China announced that it would cut its troops by a million. Let me tell you frankly, the Americans once asked us if our vigilance against the Russians had been (?lowered). The Soviet leader's speech at the United Nations made us believe that our decision to reduce our troops is correct. What we especially believe has great significance is that the Soviet Union is not only cutting its troops in the western part of its country, but also in the eastern part. Most of the Soviet troops in Mongolia will leave for home. I especially [words indistinct]. There is only one point I wish to say. [Words indistinct] and why can we not restore the conditions on the Sino-Soviet borders to the open situation of the 1950's, in which there were no fortifications, just like the borders between the United States and Canada? [Words indistinct] need not learn from Western countries, but just relive our own experience.

[Question] In his speech in Krasnoyarsk, Gorbachev asked Asia-Pacific nations to enter into a dialogue with the Soviet Union. How do you view this? [words indistinct]

[Answer] First of all, let us see if the Soviet Union is an Asian country. Views on this in the past were not unanimous. However, today there is no doubt that the Soviet Union is an Asian country. We welcome the Soviet Union becoming a friendly member of Asian society, and are willing to cooperate with it in the economic, trade, science, technology, and cultural fields. For example, cooperation between northeast China and eastern Siberia has good prospects.

[Question] In his speech in Krasnoyarsk, Gorbachev said the Soviet Union would not increase its nuclear forces in the Asia-Pacific region, and urged the United States and other nuclear powers to follow suit. However, there have been no responses.

[Answer] There is a Chinese proverb which goes: It takes more than a cold day for the river to freeze 3 feet deep. (?Doubts) have not been eliminated, and (?trust is yet to be built up). As all know, the United States once came to Asia with good will. It fought, together with the Soviet Union and China, against Japanese militarists. It was only later that it learned the bitter lesson of getting involved in Vietnam. I think your reducing the military presence in the Asia-Pacific region will eliminate (?the motive) for a U.S. military presence in this region.

[Question] How do you see the recent development in Soviet-Chinese relations?

[Answer] [Words indistinct] of normalization, of course we can say that Sino-Soviet relations have entered a normalization process. I wish to say that, when Deng Xiaoping meets Gorbachev, it will undoubtedly mark the beginning of a new stage in this process.

Maritime Kray, Heilongjiang Reach Trade Accord
OW0802022689 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 4 Feb 89

[From the "Soviet Press on China" program]

[Text] According to a report by "RED FLAG" of Vladivostok, the Maritime Kray branch of the USSR Chamber of Industry and Commerce and the Heilongjiang Provincial Foreign Capital Consultation Corporation have reached an agreement on finding trade partners for each other. They will assist in establishing and developing trade, economic, scientific, and technical exchanges and setting up joint ventures. So far, initial steps in these areas have already been taken. Under the agreement, the two sides will set up joint enterprises for making children's toys.

"RED FLAG" added that the Chinese also intend to cooperate with the Pacific Biology and Organic Chemistry Institute in marketing its products in China.

Paper Mill Rebuilding Contract Signed With PRC
LD0302224589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1755 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] Beijing, 3 Feb (TASS)—TASS correspondent Andrey Kirillov reports:

A contract has been signed here today between the all-union Tekhmashimport association and the Chinese Techimport company on rendering assistance in the reconstruction of the pulp and paper combine in the town of Jiamusi. This was built in the 1950s with the technical assistance of the Soviet Union. The contract is worth 134 million Swiss francs. The contract was signed by V.I. Grib, chairman of the all-union Tekhmashimport association, and Xu De'en, general manager of the Chinese Techimport company.

PRC Listeners Offered Spring Festival Greetings

OW0802034889 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] [Male announcer] Dear listeners, I now ask my colleague Comrade (Andeleyeva) to say a few words over the microphone to extend our Spring Festival greetings.

[(Andeleyeva)] Dear friends, on the occasion of the Spring Festival, I join the comrades of the editorial department in wishing our faithful listeners a happy Spring Festival. We wish you happiness, good health, and success in everything. As a member of the Moscow City Government delegation, I had the opportunity to visit Beijing twice last year. During both visits, we were accorded a warm reception by the Chinese. On the eve of the Spring Festival, other members of the delegation called me to extend their festival greetings and ask me to convey their festival greetings to Mr Miao, director of the Beijing Municipal (?Post Office); Liu Yong, director of the Beijing Municipal Foreign Affairs Office; and the comrades of the Beijing Hotel, with whom we worked. We wish them good business and expansion of joint ventures throughout the country in the Year of the Snake. I want to extend my personal greetings to (Wang Xinbai), (Li Zumou), and other comrades of the Beijing No 5 Construction Engineering Company, whom I met in Moscow and who have since become good friends of mine. I wish them a happy Spring Festival, success in work, and a happy life. In conclusion, I wish the relatives and friends of the comrades of our editorial department, who are in China, a happy Spring Festival. Please keep in touch.

I have a wish. I hope I can have more opportunities to visit my friends in China in the Year of the Snake. I also hope that more Chinese friends will come to visit the Soviet Union. Today we see a bigger step forward being taken in Soviet-Chinese relations. The forthcoming official visit to China in May by our leader Gorbachev greatly inspires the comrades of our editorial department. Once again, I wish you a Happy Spring Festival!

PRC Expands Russian Language Training, Exchange

OW0402053389 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 31 Jan 89

[By station reporter Babayang from China]

[Text] A training center for Russian language translators will begin operation in Beijing in March this year. The training center is founded under the cosponsorship of two foreign language institutes in Beijing for the purpose of improving interpreters' oral interpretation ability. While the economic, trade, scientific, and technological contacts between the Soviet Union and China are rapidly increasing, the need for such interpreters is becoming more and more pressing.

At present, China is paying greater and greater attention to training Russian language experts and improving their translation ability. For this purpose, China is sending more personnel to study in the Soviet Union. According to a spokesman of the State Education Commission of China, China will send 600 scientists, technicians, graduate students, and college students to teach or study in the Soviet Union, while 320 Soviet graduate students and college students are attending Chinese colleges. In 1983, after a 20-year interruption, the two countries exchanged 10 graduate students. The figure was not considered small then.

Zhu Kaixuan, vice minister of the State Education Commission of China and member of the Sino-Soviet Committee for Economic, Trade, Scientific and Technological Cooperation, said: The cooperation in the educational field between China and the Soviet Union is developed on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

Moscow Evening Party Marks Qu Qiubai's Birth

OW0502134089 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 1 Feb 89

[Text] An evening party has been held at the Far East Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences in Moscow to commemorate the 90th birth anniversary of Qu Qiubai, an activist of the Chinese communist movement.

A station reporter reports: Galenovich, deputy chairman of the Central Council of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society and doctor of history, presided over the party.

(Sverev), a Soviet sinologist, delivered a report on Qu Qiubai's life and activities, saying: [(Sverev) is heard briefly, speaking in Russian, fading out after a few seconds] People who study the life and activities of Qu Qiubai will marvel at his many talents and extraordinary diligence. His theoretical heritage consists of a few hundred works, characterized by theoretical depth, outstanding ideas, and wide-ranging interest. He studied philosophy, political economy, history, sociology, and other social sciences. He was also a literary researcher, writer, poet, and translator.

The Soviet people have always looked upon Qu Qiubai as an internationalist and Communist. During the early 1920's, as a reporter in Moscow and one of the first journalists of the Chinese press in Soviet Russia, he told the Chinese readers the truth about the young Soviet Worker-Peasant Republic, and wrote articles to introduce Lenin, founder of the Soviet state.

Qu Qiubai did a lot of work to introduce Russian and Soviet literature to Chinese readers and wrote a special volume on Russian literature before the October revolution. He was devoted to fostering Marxist esthetic concept in China's literary and art circles, as well as Lenin's concept about art. He translated the works of Gorkiy and other Soviet writers into the Chinese language.

The Soviet people cherish the memory of Qu Qiubai and have translated many of his works, including diaries, political essays, and newsletters. Qu Qiubai left behind a rich literary heritage, which has always been the topic of study for Soviet scholars.

Soviet sinologists, people from all walks of life in Moscow, activists of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society, as well as personnel of the Chinese Embassy in the Soviet Union attended the party.

Late Tibetan Leader Banquen Lama Eulogized
OW0402054089 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 31 Jan 89

[Article by station commentator (Kriznov)]

[Text] Dear friends: Banqen Erdini Qoigyi Gyancan, a famous Chinese public figure and one of Tibet's religious leaders, passed away unexpectedly last Saturday at the age of 51. Please listen to an short article written by our station commentator (Kriznov) on this sad event:

Reports from Beijing on the unexpected death of Banqen Erdini Qoigyi Gyancan in Xigaze Ci ty of Tibet described this political and religious leader as a great patriot who for a long time made contributions to strengthening the unity of the Chinese nation. After the 1959 Tibet incident, the Banqen Lama did not join the Tibetan religious leader—the Dalai Lama—and several other Tibetans in leaving the motherland. He expressed his support for the central people's government in Beijing. During the Cultural Revolution, the Banqen Lama, like many other public figures, became a target of class struggle and was imprisoned for a long time. The CPC Central Committee completely exonerated him in the spring of 1988. In recent years, the Banqen Lama served as vice chairman of the National People's Congress Standing Committee and honorary president of the Buddhist Association of China.

According to reports from India, where the Dalai Lama resides, the Banqen Lama passed away unexpectedly on the eve of prospective talks between the Chinese Government and the Dalai Lama. The Banqen Lama, who resided and worked in Beijing, constantly visited other parts of China on inspection tours. He visited Tibet, Qinghai, and other regions of minority nationalities. His inspection of Tibet early last year was of great significance to stabilizing the local situation. The situation in Tibet then was tense after some people created disturbances in Lhasa under the signboard of Tibetan independence.

The Banqen Lama said that the incident was stirred up by separatist elements. He always thought that Tibet was an indivisible part of China and that the separatists' attempts to divide China were bound to fail. The Banqen Lama also openly pointed out that the Cultural Revolution caused great losses to Tibet's culture and religion, and created harmful effects on Tibetans' morality. In addition, he pointed out the necessity to correct the mistakes of the past. The Banqen Lama also called on people to work for peace and be benevolent.

Northeast Asia

Japan Marks 'Northern Territories Day'
LD0702212289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 7 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report from Tokyo by correspondent A. Koloshin]

[Text] In Japan, the so-called Northern Territories Day is being marked yet again today.

[Koloshin] These pictures were taken last year. [Video shows mass of vehicles fitted with public address systems and flag-waving demonstrators blocking a street] Normally on this day the streets leading to the Soviet Embassy are subjected to a very real siege. The armored vehicles belonging to right-wing parties and groups making the greatest territorial claims against our country, noise, and insults are all the direct result of the propaganda campaign that has been waged for many years and is supported by the Japanese Government. It demands that the Soviet Union hand over the four islands north of Hokkaido.

This year, only reinforced details of police outside the Soviet Embassy remind one what day it is. Under the law adopted by the Japanese parliament at the end of last year, the Japanese police are cutting short any provocative disturbances, particularly in the area where the foreign missions are located. [video shows correspondent speaking to camera in street with normal traffic flow]

One has scarcely felt the presence of right-wingers in the city. There have been only isolated groups visiting Yasukuni Temple to pay respects to the souls of dead soldiers, including war criminals, and only the so-called Patriotic Party of Bin Akao, who during the war called himself the Japanese Hitler, has been conducting propaganda about the day. In this respect the party demands from us the Kuriles Islands and the southern part of Sakhalin. [video shows group at a temple and demonstrators with banners; close-up of demonstrators' map shows the Kuriles Islands and southern Sakhalin belonging to Japan]

The official viewpoint was reflected at the annual congress devoted to Northern Territories Day, which was attended by representatives of the government, parliament, and opposition parties. This year the tone of the speeches was somewhat milder. The visit to Japan by the Soviet foreign minister at the end of last year and the setting up of a working group to discuss all matters connected with the conclusion of a peace treaty were recalled. However, there also were demands for the

return of the islands as a preliminary step. Despite the more conciliatory tone, there have been no practical shifts in the Japanese position.

Japanese 'Ultimatums' on Islands Criticized

PM0802113389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Feb 89 Second Edition p 5

[Vsevolod Ovchinnikov "Viewpoint": "Senseless Exercise"]

[Text] At its recent congress Japan's ruling Liberal Democratic Party [LDP] approved an action program for the coming year. It says that the campaign to return the "northern territories" is entering a crucial phase. The program envisages that the LDP will continue to seek the simultaneous transfer of the four Soviet islands—mobilizing public opinion inside and outside Japan to this end—and will, in particular, do its utmost to help hold a "Northern Territories Day" on the government's initiative 7 February. Noisy events have frequently been timed to coincide with this date in Japan, events at which territorial claims were made on the neighboring state with not only the knowledge but the participation of official circles.

Approximately 2 months ago PRAVDA expressed the hope that the USSR foreign minister's December visit to Tokyo would make it possible to turn a new page in Soviet-Japanese relations, remove them from their state of stagnation, and return them to the mainstream of normal development. The visit was fruitful. However, when the heads of the two countries' foreign policy departments met again in Paris, the Japanese side attempted not only to nullify the positive impetus created in Tokyo but also totally toughened its position, presenting its territorial claims as ultimatums.

In the course of the foreign ministers' Paris meeting, SANKEI SHIMBUN writes, the Japanese side described the resolution of the territorial problem as a preliminary condition for improving bilateral relations and, in particular, for concluding six Soviet-Japanese agreements discussed at the Tokyo talks. The Japanese Foreign Ministry subsequently elaborated, saying that three of the six agreements could be used as a lever for bargaining over a summit visit to Tokyo. It is a question of agreements on environmental conservation, the development of tourism, and the peaceful utilization of space that Japan allegedly "does not need." As for agreements on principles of economic cooperation, mutual protection of capital investments, and the creation of bank missions, the government intends to toughen its stance here and not conclude them "until the territorial problem is resolved on the basis of the simultaneous return of the four islands."

Thus, official Tokyo circles are making the normal development of bilateral relations dependent on the satisfaction of Japan's unfounded territorial claims against the Soviet Union and are making them a stumbling block to trade and economic and other ties. Evidently some people in the ruling party believe that after having vastly accelerated its foreign policy in all areas, the Soviet Union will not leave its Japanese dimension at a standstill. They say: If we display a little more toughness, we'll force them to make concessions....

The example of Japanese-Chinese and Japanese-South Korean relations, where contentious issues were left to the discretion of future generations, attests that a mutually acceptable compromise can only be found by meeting one another halfway and that ultimatums are useless and pointless.

Why do people in Tokyo refuse to abandon this approach? PRAVDA has already cited Japanese academics' speeches to the effect that the problem of the "northern territories" is being exploited to justify an increase in the military budget with references to the "Soviet threat." Recent events graphically confirm this. While the Japanese Government was examining the draft state budget, under which military appropriations were to be increased by 5.9 percent over last year's figures, M.S. Gorbachev announced at a meeting with the representatives of the Trilateral Commission that the unilateral reductions in the Soviet Armed Forces also extended to 200,000 servicemen in the Asian section of the country. However, making all manner of attempts to belittle the significance of these words, the Japanese military department insistently reiterated statements on the "continuing buildup in Soviet military potential in the Far East."

However, it is becoming increasingly difficult to convince the Japanese of this. "New winds are now starting to blow in the world," ASAHI wrote. "USSR-U.S. military confrontation has eased. Many neighboring states, including the PRC and the DPRK, are curbing increases in military expenditure and are even cutting their armed forces. If we turn our backs on all this and continue to build up military potential on the basis of existing plans, this may cause us to make a foolish mistake. In terms of defense spending, Japan has already reached the level where it can quite easily be described as a major military power. Against whom are we defending ourselves; what are we defending and how? Isn't it time to ponder these questions?"

The stagnation in Soviet-Japanese relations can be overcome. But in order to do this, the neighboring states need to look at one another in an unbiased fashion and endeavor to arrive at a mutually acceptable solution to contentious issues. Attempts to foist one's will through unfriendly acts like the notorious "Northern Territories Day" are a hopeless exercise.

Takeshita Goals in Bush Meeting Assessed

OW0802012489 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 4 Feb 89

[Dmitriyev commentary]

[Text] Moscow Radio commentator Dmitriyev comments on the Japanese-U.S. summit meeting held in Washington on 2 February:

It appears to have been a traditional privilege for Japan's prime minister to call the U.S. President by his first name. Prime Minister Takeshita and President Bush followed their predecessors' practice at their first meeting. At a press conference, Chief Cabinet Secretary Obuchi said that Prime Minister Takeshita succeeded in building a personal relationship with the new U.S. President. In this sense, the Japanese Government appears to think that the objective of the prime minister's visit to the United States was achieved. However, in view of reports on progress at the summit meeting, Prime Minister Takeshita had other objectives than a personal familiarization with President Bush. The objective was to suggest to the new U.S. Administration that the power relationship in the Japanese-U.S. alliance had changed, and Japan intended to play a greater role in that relationship.

At the summit meeting, Prime Minister Takeshita stressed the need for coordinating the policies of Japan and the United States on international issues. Prime Minister Takeshita said that, since the total GNP of the two countries accounted for 37 percent of the world's GNP, various issues between Japan and the United States automatically became global issues. Thus, the Japanese Government intends to shift its role in a regional alliance with the United States to one in a world alliance. Judging from reports, President Bush agreed to cooperate with Japan in resolving international issues. However, information on the summit meeting is so insufficient that it is difficult to make judgments on how the Japanese-U.S. partnership would be conducted at a world level. Prime Minister Takeshita called the United States a leading country, indispensable to the Western camp. In view of this fact, we can draw a conclusion. The Japanese Government, as in the past, sees prospects of world development from the standpoint of a split between the East and West, in other words from the standpoint of confrontation, despite [words indistinct]. In the world today, this concept provides a valuable political and ideological basis for the Japanese Government in Japanese-U.S. relations, despite major economic friction between the two countries. Japan's relations with the socialist countries, including the Soviet Union, have often become a safety mechanism for major friction in Japanese-U.S. relations. In particular, this phenomenon has been notable in the military area. The Japanese Government's policy has been bent on maintaining this safety mechanism in recent years. In other words, the Japanese Government has been promoting confrontation between the East and West in some respects. However, the present situation does not allow Japan to pursue this independent policy.

The Japanese Government is arguing for a greater role in world affairs. However, there is a factor preventing Japan from becoming a world political power. The Japanese Government has long linked overall political relations with neighboring USSR to the territorial issue. Recently the Japanese Government has made active moves to win support from Western countries for its groundless claim. At the Japanese-U.S. summit meeting, Prime Minister Takeshita said that Japan had no intention of developing economic relations with the Soviet Union unless Japan's demand for the return of the Kuriles is met. Since these moves by the Japanese Government are aimed at reviewing international treaties which have been widely recognized, they raise doubts from the standpoint of international law. At the same time, they cannot increase Japan's authority in the world. The Japanese Government is asking Western countries to play an intermediary role because the territorial issue is a secondary issue for the West. This aspect conspicuously appeared during Foreign Minister Uno's recent tour to Western countries. During his tour to these countries, Foreign Minister Uno attempted to gain support on the territorial issue. However, his attempt found cool responses and perplexity.

Commentary Views Japanese-U.S. Relations

OW0402042689 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Dmitriyev commentary]

[Text] Regarding Japanese Prime Minister Takeshita's visit to the United States, Radio Moscow commentator Dmitriyev writes as follows:

Prime Minister Takeshita is the first foreign guest of the new U.S. Bush administration. This signifies the Japanese Government's intention of establishing close personal connections with the U.S. leadership, just as in the years of Nakasone and Reagan. Meanwhile, President Bush will visit Japan to attend the state funeral for Emperor Hirohito on 24 February, and this can be taken as underscoring the United States' interest in the Far East. Thus, active sumit-level political dialogue has started between the new U.S. Administration and the Japanese Government from the very beginning.

Regardless of whether or not this dialogue will satisfy the people concerned, it is obvious that Japan and the United States will continue to maintain their allied relations as in the past. At the same time, with Japan's relatively strengthened role within the framework of the alliance, new conflicts can be expected, while no solution can be worked out for existing conflicts. For example, Japanese enterprises' attempts to buy real estate in the

United States have become a new target of U.S. criticism. Even without this new conflict, the United States is anxious over its trade deficit with Japan, which amounted to $47.6 billion in 1988.

Judging from U.S. Trade Representative Hill's remarks, the United States regards liberalization of the Japanese market to inexpensive U.S. rice as one way to reduce its trade deficit. Furthermore, the Bush administration intends to pursue the idea of sharing military expenditures in its relations with Japan. New U.S. Defense Secretary Tower has already called on Japan to increase its defense spending by disregarding its peace-oriented Constitution. Meanwhile, new Secretary of State Baker has stated his conviction that Japan can contribute to the cause of peace without becoming a military power. Such differences in views among U.S. Cabinet members indicate that the Bush administration's policy has not been completely developed. Naturally, this is based on the assumption that such differences do not signify an intentional division of work between the hawks and the doves.

Incidentally, the Bush administration's true intentions in the military field have considerable influence on many issues. As is known to all, undisguised demands made by the U.S. leadership, though [words indistinct], have promoted Japan's military buildup. Trade friction has also played an obvious, though indirect, role in this issue. It has become common pratice in Japanese-U.S. relations for Japan to pursue a military buildup to make up for U.S. dissatisfaction with its economic offens.ve. When viewed from a broader perspective, this practice has involved Japan in the U.S. confrontation with the Soviet Union and has had a negative effect on Soviet-Japanese relations. A good example in recent years is the so-called Toshiba incident: a great fuss caused by unfounded charges. In fact, the fuss resulted from U.S.-Japanese competition in highly advanced technology.

From this viewpoint, the Soviet Union cannot remain indifferent to how various problems in Japanese-U.S. relations are solved. Taking an objective view, the Soviet Union hopes that these issues will be settled in a smooth, normal, and quiet atmosphere. It goes without saying that this [words indistinct] will not settle all the problems in Soviet-Japanese relations, nor bring about a drastic relaxation of tension in the Far East. However, it is true that stable Japanese-U.S. relations will free the already complicated situation in the Asia-Pacific region of extra and unpredictable disturbances.

Herein lies the interdependence of nations in the contemporary world, as stressed in Soviet leader General Secretary Gorbachev's address to the UN session on 7 December 1988. Taking Japanese-U.S. relations as an example, it will become clear that this interdependence is not merely an abstract concept, but a substantial and concrete reality—not only for global economy but for international politics as well. In this context, it is expected that the Japanese and U.S. leaderships will pay sufficient attention to these circumstances based on their relations in past years. This would certainly conform to the two countries' roles in the contemporary world.

DPRK Official Appeals to ROK on Meeting

PM0702113589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Ho Tam Sends Letters to South Korean Figures"]

[Text] Pyongyang, 31 Jan—Ho Tam, member of the Politburo, secretary of the Workers Party of Korea [WPK] Central Committee, and chairman of the preparatory commission for a North and South Korean leaders' political consultative conference, sent letters yesterday to the leaders of South Korea's ruling party and three leading opposition parties—No Tae-u, Kim Tae-chun, Kim Yong-sam, and Kim Chong-pil—and to prominent South Korean religious figures, KCNA reports.

The messages point out that Kim Il-song, general secretary of the WPK and president of the DPRK, proposed in his New Year's speech the convocation in the immediate future of a consultative conference involving North and South Korean political leaders with a view to jointly seeking ways to unite Korea. At present the atmosphere inside and outside Korea favors unification. The letters point out that the crucial time has come for North and South Korean leaders to take the first steps to meet one another halfway along this path. Neglecting dialogue and putting any one party's interests in the forefront constitutes an evasion of responsibility.

S. Korean Businessman on DPRK Visit

LD0102142189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1740 GMT 31 Jan 89

[Text] Pyongyang, 31 Jan (TASS)—Chong Chu-yung, chairman of the Federation of Korean Industry and honorary president of the South Korean Hyundai Corporation, stated at a press confeence held here today that he had visited the DPRK to discuss problems of cooperation between North and South and noted that his trip had been made possible by the DPRK Government's humane position.

He voiced satisfaction with the discussion held with the DPRK representatives on the question of jointly developing the infrastructure in the Kumgang-san Mountains to turn them into an international tourist zone. Since this issue is connected with the cause of peace and unification, he expressed the hope that it would be solved positively. His view, he noted, is shared in the DPRK.

Replying to a question about difficulties in cooperation and exchanges between North and South, Chong Chu-yong stated that the dialogue between them was "at an impasse." There is, however, another view on this score,

he noted. The issue will be solved when the sides begin to overcome the difficulties along the path toward national consolidation and peace, he pointed out.

Touching on reports of trade between the DPRK and South Korea, the South Korean industrialist said that not a single case of a direct trade exchange between North and South had taken place so far. At the same time, South Korean companies express the desire to trade with the DPRK, he emphasized.

Mongolian Official Relates New Year Greetings

LD0702205389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1755 GMT 7 Feb 89

[From the "International Diary" program presented by Sergey Pravdin]

[Excerpts] The people of Mongolia, like those of China, Korea, and a number of other countries are marking the lunar New Year today, the Year of the Snake. [passage omitted] At the microphone is Comrade Enkhsaikhan, minister plenipotentiary and counsellor at the Embassy of the Mongolian People's Republic in the Soviet Union:

[Enskhaikhan] Recently the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the government of the Mongolian People's Republic adopted a decison to make the New Year festival a general national holiday. This decision shows a renaissance of the people's good national traditions. [passage omitted] The Mongolian people welcome the Year of the Snake in a new situation, in an atmosphere of renewal and restructuring of all areas of public life. Allow me, dear friends, on the first day of the lunar New Year, to wish all Soviet people great success in the business of revolutionary restructuring of Soviet society, in your noble activity in strengthening international peace and security, and happiness and well-being. We are convinced that this year will be a year of further strengthening friendship and developing the all-around cooperation between our two peoples and countries.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

U.S. Bases Said To Pollute Philippine Waters

HK0402055189 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Report by correspondent (Vassiliy Silipov)]

[Excerpt] Last year, the Japanese company Marubeni made hundreds of millions of dollars from the intensive chopping down of trees in Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines. However, while the Japanese firm happily counts its profits, the damage it caused to the environment in Southeast Asia is irreparable. Large parts of the forests have been ruthlessly destroyed, with serious ecological repercussions.

Similarly, the U.S. military bases have for many years been throwing toxic wastes into nearby waters, killing the fish and causing a decline in the output of other marine products. According to the mayor of a Philippine town near the U.S. Subic naval base, the residents are seriously affected by the pollution. The situation in other parts of Southeast Asia is just as serious. Fish production in the state of Malacca has gone down due to pollution caused by factories.

Last year, the American newspaper THE NATION reported that when Marcos was still in power, an American company paid the dictator to allow the dumping of its toxic wastes from its American plant to the Philippines. The wastes were taken to an island in the country.

Meanwhile, another foreign newspaper recounted several instances when the Japanese discarded several barrels of radioactive wastes in the Pacific ocean near the Philippines. [passage omitted]

USSR-PRC Agreement 'Vital' to Cambodian Peace

BK0802030389 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Station observer commentary]

[Text] Another new, important step has been taken toward settling the external political aspects of the Cambodian problem. The joint statement of the Soviet and Chinese foreign ministers on the settlement of the Cambodian problem has been made public in Moscow. The significance of the statement is that the two giant countries, in their discussions on the current situation in Southeast Asia, reached an agreement in principle on a number of questions. In this connection, our observer comments on the following:

The concept of linkage between a Vietnamese troop pullout from Cambodia and the prevention of a return to power of the Pol Pot group is a key to resolving the Cambodian problem. The SRV and the PRK, in May last year, with goodwill and sincerity for expediting peace in Cambodian homeland, made an announcement on withdrawing Vietnamese volunteer army troops from Cambodia. The initiative of the two Indochinese countries was overwhelmingly endorsed, welcomed, and correctly assessed by world opinion as a breakthrough in the settlement of the Cambodian problem. However, together with the Vietnamese troop withdrawal, global and regional concern has also been increasingly expressed over the Pol Pot group's ceaseless attempts to fill the so-called vacuum in the wake of the Vietnamese troop pullout and its possible return to power in Cambodia.

The issue was predominant in the first informal meeting among the Cambodian parties in Bogor, Indonesia, in mid-1988. The participants in the meeting, except the Pol Pot group, were in unanimous agreement that a Vietnamese troop withdrawal must be implemented in

conjunction with a genuine guarantee on the prevention of an eventual return of the genocidal regime. This question became apparently vital with the announcement of the SRV, made of course with the PRK's agreement, that the withdrawal of all the Vietnamese troops from Cambodia will be completed at the end of September this year at the latest, or earlier if a political agreement is achieved.

This issue was a chief topic in the talks between the Soviet foreign minister, Comrade Eduard Shevardnadze, and Chinese leaders in Beijing. The new political thinking prevailed even here.

As indicated in the Soviet and Chinese foreign ministers' joint statement, the two sides recognized Vietnam's announcement that the Vietnamese troop withdrawal from Cambodia will be completed no later than the end of September 1989 and expressed hope that after the completion of the Vietnamese troop pullout there would be no foreign troops or military bases on the Cambodian soil. They also held the view that while Vietnam is withdrawing its troops from Cambodia, all states involved should effect a gradual reduction of military aid to all the Cambodian parties until it is completely cut-off.

Moreover, the forthcoming second informal meeting in Jakarta for the Cambodian parties is another move of vital importance toward settling the conflict. This also reflects the general global tendency to resolve conflicts by peaceful means. In this respect, as shown by the reality, it should fairly consider the interest of each party based on goodwill and do away with the old thinking of hostility.

Commentary Views Pol Pot's 'Isolation' in World

BK0402080489 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1230 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Station observer Viktor Valentinov's commentary]

[Text] It seems that the solution to Cambodia is nearing its final stage. New factors to facilitate the settlement of this important task have been found successively. One of these factors is the Pol Pot clique's total isolation in the international arena.

Our observer, Comrade Viktor Valentinov, writes:

Frankly speaking, the Cambodian problem occurred because of Pol Pot and the second stage of his policy implemented in Cambodia in the 70's. Lately, so many opinions which do not want to accept this have tried to put the blame sometimes on Hanoi, Moscow, and international communism—a phrase drawn from the language of the cold war period. Colluding against whichever parties which do not have anything to do with this matter at all, the anti-communists in the Western world, whether they like it or not, have always tried to make excuses for and white-wash the crimes of the criminal Pol Pot clique.

Pol Pot and his close associates are truly criminals. Since they were criminals in the past, at present they certainly remain the criminals. For a period of 3 years, 8 months, and 20 days in their bloodied claws, more than 3 million people in Cambodia died. Their coming to power destroyed Cambodia's economy almost to the ground, completely destroyed Cambodia's ancient heritage, and shattered the fate of the survivors.

Now, 10 years have elapsed since the people's republic took root in Cambodia. The Cambodian people are busily building a new life and a new society. However, the bad consequences of the Pol Pot clique's hell on earth are still smoking. With the help of foreign supporters, the criminal clique set up camps near the border of the motherland [words indistinct] and, from these camps, has kept launching bandit activities to sabotage the Cambodian people's peaceful life.

The young republic has been compelled to station a large number of its Armed Forces along its western border to counter the hegemonist designs of Pol Pot and his close associates and prevent them from committing another massacre against the people.

A year or a year and a half ago, the foreign support for Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge was very strong. In Washington, where people like to talk about human rights, under the label of so-called "aid to the coalition government of the Cambodian opposition groups", aid—arms, money, and whatever Pol Pot wanted—was given to the Pol Pot clique.

But world situation has changed. The new political trend proposed to the world community by the Soviet Union has eradicated the old views regarding the political goals, forms, and theories, thus causing great changes which we hope are irreversible. One of these changes is the new attitude regarding regional conflicts, an attitude which is based on the desire to quickly settle those conflicts, turn the world toward peace, and open ways for dialogue and cooperation.

Certainly, all these have not proceeded smoothly. New ideas always have a difficult trail to blaze. Nevertheless, this process has moved forward. Clear proof of this is the almost total state of isolation of the Pol Pot group.

Although a slow process, the Cambodian problem is moving forward reliably toward a successful settlement. Cambodia has had direct dialogue with Thailand. The Soviet Union has held fruitful discussions with the Chinese side on the various aspects of the Cambodian problem and a direct contact between China and Vietnam has begun. In this new form of (?offensive), there is no longer any space for the criminal Pol Pot clique.

In our opinion, proof of this includes a letter signed by the 27 U.S. senators. We would like to present the summary of this letter to conclude this commentary as follows:

In Washington D.C., on Wednesday, 1 February, 27 senators from both the Republican and Democratic Parties sent a letter to new U.S. Secretary of State James Baker. In the letter, they expressed their concern, seeing the possibilities for the Pol Pot clique to return to power in Cambodia. They also called on the Washington government to make relentless efforts to eradicate such possibilities. They accused the Khmer Rouge of continuing their criminal policy against the Cambodian people.

This shows that the ground is sliding from under Pol Pot's feet. He no longer has a place to stand. He has lost support everywhere.

Freedom of Choice Key to Future in Asia, Cambodia
OW0402125689 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 31 Jan 89

[Talk by Valentinov entitled "The Principle of Freedom To Choose and the Future of Asia"]

[Text] Dear listeners and friends, please listen to a talk entitled The Principle of Freedom To Choose and the Future of Asia by Soviet international reporter Valentinov.

It is very easy to find a number of "hot spots" on the map of Asia. We frequently talk about, read, and introduce incidents taking place there. Regrettably, from the map we inquire into the interests of [words indistinct]. We discuss the historical source of conflicts, interference by foreign powers, and local confrontation. However, in the final analysis, all these incidents reflect none other than the following two issues: the freedom of the Asian people to choose the road for their future, and the interference imposed on their choice.

For example, let us take the Cambodian issue, which is the focus of attention not only in Asia but also all over the world. It is one of the "hot spots" in Asia. Whether people disagree with my views or not, I maintain that the following are the actual situations of conflict. By overthrowing the evil Pot Pot regime in 1979, the Cambodian people made their own choice. During the 3 years, 8 months, and 20 days of its reign, this [words indistinct] regime slaughtered more than 3 million people. Hopefully, everyone should be able to live under the conditions of peace, democracy, social advance, and full confidence in the future. The Phnom Penh government, which enjoys general support from the people, is willing to discuss other different views concerning the future of the country. [words indistinct] should be conducted within the scope of national reconciliation, which is based on a patriotic standpoint.

Let us now take a look at (?the response) of the Cambodian opposition, which operates under the signboard of Democratic Kampuchea, to the proposal put forward by Phnom Penh. The signboard, first of all, is [words indistinct] because it is the old signboard used by the Pol Pot genocidal regime. However, what amazes us is that the so-called Khmer Rouge Pol Pot Clique plays a leading role there. In addition to the above, we should mention that, not long ago, the Khmer Rouge even rejected the possibility of sharing power with any other party in the future Cambodian government. But the Pol Pot clique had no choice but to withdraw its strong demand this time under pressure from the international community. Even so, it is very hard to believe that the Khmer Rouge will change its fundamental standpoint. Therefore, the Cambodian people have every reason to insist on their demand for dissolving the Pol Pot [words indistinct] and stopping all foreign military aid to it.

In my opinion, the Cambodian opposition that has [words indistinct] is also justified in demanding Vietnam withdraw its troops from Cambodia. Independence is necessary. However, we must not forget the following two points. First, Vietnamese troops came to Cambodia for the purpose of helping its people overthrow a regime that practices genocide. Second, the issue of Vietnamese troop withdrawal does not exist any longer. Vietnamese troops will be completely withdrawn if an agreement is reached between all the political forces in Cambodia before September this year.

I am not in a position to make any arbitrary conjecture. However, I am certain that the Phnom Penh government will reach an agreement with the opposition sooner or later and create a condition that will guarantee true freedom for all the Cambodian people to choose their future. At this crucial moment, everyone who is dedicated to bringing about a turn for the better of the Cambodian situation should agree to this choice.

The stand taken by the Soviet Union toward this issue is known to all. In a speech to the United Nations on 7 December 1988, Gorbachev said: It is very obvious to us that the principle of freedom to choose must be adhered to. Refusing to recognize this principle will result in serious consequences for world peace.

Soviet-Indonesian Relations Viewed as 'Promising'
OW0602025289 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Nikolayev station commentary: "New Stage in Soviet-Indonesian Relations"]

[Text] The 39th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic ties between the Soviet Union and Indonesia falls on 3 February. On the status quo and prospects for developing Soviet-Indonesian relations, our station commentator Nikolayev writes as follows:

Take a 5-minute walk from the building of the Soviet State Committee for Television & Radio Broadcasting and you will see a beautiful house on a quiet street. The national flag in red and white stripes, hoisted in front of the gate proves that the Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia occupies this old mansion. On 3 February 1950, formal relations were established between Indonesia and the Soviet Union. Nearly 40 years have elapsed, and that is not a short period. There have been different periods, ups and downs, in the history of the Soviet-Indonesian relations. Recently, the trend of rapid development in Soviet-Indonesian relations has become somewhat steady. Political relations have made some headway. The foreign ministers of the two countries have exchanged visits and reached a resolution on Indonesian President Suharto's visit to the Soviet Union. They are now engaged in bilateral political consultation. Along with the in-depth political dialogue, we now clearly see that the two countries share a similar, or the same, stand on most important international political issues.

I wish to particularly point out: On how to solve the Cambodian issue, Moscow and Jakarta share a similar point of view: Indonesia is making important contributions to a peaceful solution of this conflict. As we all know, last summer, precisely on Indonesia's national territory, the quadruplets of Cambodia and representatives of the Indochinese and ASEAN countries held a meeting for the first time. The Bogor meeting laid foundations for a political solution to the Cambodian issue, and was universally acknowledged as a success. Now, Jakarta is sparing no effort to continually develop the process which started in Bogor.

Today, they are actively making preparations for a new Jakarta meeting similar to the Bogor Meeting. The Soviet Union hopes the new meeting will be able to speed up the process of solving the Cambodian issue. Objectively, the Soviet Union and Indonesia share the same point of view on many international issues. They seek willingness to help strengthen cooperation and stability in the Asia-Pacific region. Moscow believes that all these are foundations on which the Soviet Union and Indonesia cooperate in a comprehensive way, and on a mutually-benefiting basis in all foreign spheres. What is encouraging is that Jakarta also holds this view. I think it is safe to say the Soviet Union's ties with Indonesia are most promising.

Near East & South Asia

Withdrawal From Afghanistan Continues on Schedule

General Describes Departing Convoys

LD0402182689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 4 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The final stage of the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan is here. Our correspondent reports:

[Begin recording] [Correspondent M. Leshchinskiy, identified by screen caption] We can well imagine how people at home are waiting impatiently for reports on the concluding stage of our soldiers' return home. The most difficult combat operation, which a troop withdrawal is, has developed and is developing precisely to plan and on schedule, in complete accordance with the command plan. The troops are moving to the Soviet border in the West and East of Afghanistan. They are going day and night. Stops en route are only for refuelling equipment and for the drivers to rest. The Afghan roads were never easy for them—stray bullets, mines. However, now everything fades in comparison to the realization that this is finally the road home, and quite soon now, for all. [video shows tanks proceeding at night, carrying Soviet troops; Soviet troops lined up; shots of trucks and tank-like vehicles proceeding along road in poor visibility; noise audible in background. Video cuts to Leshchinskiy, inside what appears to be vehicle serving as a military operations room, with soldier by his side looking at map]

Plotted on this chart is the chief route along which the Soviet combat units are returning home from Kabul to Hayraton on the Afghan-Soviet border. Comrade General, you are responsible for the traffic along the route, and you know I noted that large transport convoys carrying various cargo are also travelling toward our combat units. What is the reason for this?

[Major General V. Vasenin, identified by screen caption] The point is that the Soviet Government has adopted a new decision on additional supplies of free material aid to the Republic of Afghanistan. Of course, the appropriate tasks were set relating to the transport of national economic cargo, primarily flour and grain and other products, to Afghanistan. Therefore, all these convoys....

[Leshchinskiy, interrupting] They are marked here. [video shows map of road and markers indicating position of convoys] They are moving to Kabul. There is not much time left until 15 February. Is it realistic to expect such major tasks to be fulfilled, both the troop withdrawal and the transfer of a large consignment of foodstuffs?

[Vasenin] We have managed to plan things. Also part of the plan, for instance, is that we will hand over all the vehicles as they are loaded with these foodstuffs and vehicles. And the personnel from these envoys, the drivers and the chiefs of the convoys, will be returned to USSR territory by plane.

[Leshchinskiy] So the task will be carried out by 15 February?

[Vasenin] Yes, the task will most definitely be carried out. [end recording]

Television Reports Soldiers' Return

LD0502210189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 5 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Foreign news presenter Igor Kudrin, identified by caption] The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan continues. A report from our correspondents. [video shows ring of missile launchers in midst of landscape of bare earth in front of mountains, filmed from inside a watch post at the center of the ring of weapons]

[M. Leshchinskiy] These are the Afghan hills our soldiers returning home today see. However, each will remember them in his own way—the long months spent in the outposts and sentry points. Incidentally, for many their service goes on: the fighters intently guard the airport and the roads along which the convoys are moving. [video shows soldier going down entry passage into underground building, cutting to tank standing, half entrenched at airport]

It is now close to the time to return, and Aleksandr Rozenbaum, the popular performer of his own songs, has come to congratulate the servicemen on that. [video shows man entertaining the troops with guitar]

The future was talked about at another outpost, too, where Viktor Mironenko, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee, presented soldiers with Komsomol badges for military prowess. [video shows Mironenko presenting red folders to row of soldiers]

[Begin recording] [Leshchinskiy] Viktor Ivanovich, in a few days time the lads will be at home, but many problems will probably be starting for them at home. After all, we know that the destiny of the Afghans does not always turn out smoothly.

[Mironenko] In a hospital in Tashkent I was told in as many words that one does come across people who say, I did not send you to Afghanistan. We replied to them that, well, it is difficult to think of something to say. We hope they do not come across such people. However, I think that there are, nonetheless, a few people like that, and if there are some, well, their consciences will awaken in the end. To talk about the boys, we have been thinking about how to help those who return from here as invalids.

[Leshchinskiy] Those first of all, of course.

[Mironenko] We have reached agreement with our Czechoslovak friends that this year about 300 people will visit Czechoslovakia through Sputnik and they will be helped there with prosthetic appliances. The most important thing is, I think, that they are coming home. In a few days time—we spoke about that today—thousands of people in the homeland—mothers, fathers, brides, and wives—will breathe easier once they know that they are finally on that side of the river. [video shows Leshchinskiy interviewing Mironenko in front of row of soldiers] [end recording]

[Leshchinskiy] Tomorrow morning these fighters, tired after the difficult march from Kabul, will be stepping onto home soil. [video shows large group of soldiers being entertained by band and singer] Nearby, on the other bank of the river Amudarya, the first news about tomorrow's celebrations arrived in a song presented to the soldiers by a veteran of tours to Afghanistan, USSR people's artist Iosif Kamzon.

Tomorrow the last subunits of Soviet troops will be returning to the homeland across this bridge. [video shows two launches on river, bridge, cutting to group of women being interviewed by different, unidentified correspondent]

[First woman] We are waiting for our sons and we will wait until we see them.

[Second woman] All the more so, since it has been a difficult withdrawal. We will wait to the end, until they (?return).

[Third woman] We are waiting very intently for our children to come through.

'35,000 Men Have Left' Country

LD0702143789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1410 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] Termez, 7 Feb (TASS)—A combined column of troops, including air assault and motor rifle subunits, today returned home from Afghanistan. The withdrawal of Soviet military units is being carried out in strict accordance with the Geneva accords. As Lieutenant-Colonel Valeriy Zhilyakov, a representative of the Turkestan military district, reported, over the past 2 days 1,500 servicemen have returned home via Termez alone. The withdrawal is also being carried out via the border town of Kushka in Turkmenia, and also by air.

In accordance with the program for the second stage in the withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops, about 35,000 men have left the Republic of Afghanistan. By 15 February, not a single Soviet soldier will be left in Afghanistan.

Brigade Commander Interviewed

LD0702175389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 7 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan continues. Here is a report by our correspondents from the border town of Termez.

[M. Ganiyev, identified by caption] Afghanistan, with its sky-high snow-covered mountains, uneasy days and nights, war and deprivations, is behind. Here is a gentle and long-awaited homeland, a calm and reliable native land: These suntanned boys have been dreaming to see it again. [video shows a column of armored personel carriers (APC) moving along a road]

[A.M. Tsalko, brigade commander, identified by caption, shown among a group of servicemen] We are very happy to be back on our soil, we are very happy indeed, all of us, from soldiers to officers. I would like to say that the exit of troops is very, even extremely, difficult. This is related both to combat conditions and to the situation in Afghanistan, and, apart from that, to the weather, especially in Salang. The weather in Salang is horrible now: avalanches follow one after the other, covering everything; sometimes avalanches push vehicles right into the abyss, so our exit is obviously very difficult.

[Ganiyev] What are you doing tomorrow?

[Tsalko] Tomorrow? Ordinary combat routine. We start at 0600. Then we will move on deep into the country, toward our permanent stationing position.

[Ganiyev] This subunit was guarding traffic safety on the main Kabul-Termez route. When shelling started, they put themselves in the firing line, thus covering military convoys and people, and transporting peaceful cargoes in safety. The crew of the 753 APC was under fire and repelled over 30 attacks. An explosive shell hit the APC there and it is only by a lucky chance that driver Radik Akhmatgalin, machine-gunner Rustam Lutfullin and captain Gayduk remained alive. Their pictures were printed in many newspapers. The withdrawal of our troops from Afghanistan continues. [video shows servicemen at their APC's; the place on the APC where the shell hit it]

Khowst, Qandahar Airport Attacked

LD0702225989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1606 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Excerpts] [no dateline as received] In the past 24 hours, formations of the irreconcilable opposition have subjected the town of Khowst, as well as a number of inhabited localities in Nangarhar Province, to shelling from heavy guns. Tens of mines and rockets have fallen on Qandahar airport. Afghan Army troops launched counterstrikes against rebel concentrations. According to the BAKHTAR agency, 11 opposition personnel were killed and 5 wounded in the vincinity of Qandahar airport. An arms and ammunition dump was captured. Afghan aircraft struck at rebel positions in Anjil [name as received], a major district in Herat province. According to a report from an official representative of the Afghan Armed Forces, four extremists were killed and several rebels were seriously wounded. Subunits of government forces carried out an operation to liquidate a large formation of the armed opposition in Konduz Province. Ten members of the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" were killed in the subdistricts of Achin and Khazrat-Sultan. [passage omitted]

At a briefing today in Moscow, Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, touching on the rocket bombardments of Kabul carried out by the opposition on 6 February, recalled that the Soviet Union's proposal for a cease-fire in Afghanistan and the simultaneous cessation of arms deliveries to the belligerent sides is still topical. [passage omitted]

Attacks on Convoys Continue

LD0702182389 Moscow TASS in English 1737 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] Kabul February 7 TASS—The Chief Command of the Afghan Armed Forces in an address to the inhabitants of the districts situated along the Kabul-Hayraton highway said that extremist opposition units continued attacks on convoys with food and fuel moving towards the Afghan capital.

"If the criminal activity of the rebels is continued, the Afghan Armed Forces will undertake most resolute measures the responsibility for which will rest fully with the opposition," the address said.

The Chief Military Command called on the population to leave temporarily their homes in order to avoid unnecessary casualties.

Situation in Afghanistan 'Normal'

LD0802001589 Moscow TASS in English 2353 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] Kabul February 8 TASS—By TASS correspondent Yuriy Tyssovskiy:

In these cold and sunny days life in Kabul is following a normal course. A supply problem for this city with a population of two million has been resolved, on the whole. The price of flour, grain and other essentials dramatically went down, although a shortage of fuel is still acute. As a result of it the traffic in Kabul streets is not as heavy as it used to be. And still, staff members of public institutions and private enterprises report to work as usual. Trade at bazaars is in full swing.

Of course, the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the Afghan capital has left its mark on it. Kabul is on the alert. Control over transport vehicles on the part of armed police details and volunteers has toughened. There are more patrols in the streets. However, Kabul has not changed its measured, businesslike way of life.

Rather good news is coming from provinces. Of course, the situation continues to be complicated there. The difficulties are brought about by incessant attacks of extremists. However, it is hardly possible to say that a

military-political situation in the country has deteriorated. There are no Soviet troops for 8 months in the provincial centres of Jalalabad, Gardeyz and Ghazni, and for over half a year in Qandahar. Despite statements of leaders of the Peshawar "Seven" and the energetic efforts aimed at capturing those cities whose geographic position is important from a strategic point of view, they have not made any perceptible headway. The attempts to pass off as their success the establishment of control over the provinces of Bamian and Konar do not hold water either. It is the areas from which government troops were withdrawn on the decision of the Afghan leadership in order to avoid unnecessary bloodshed.

At present the opposition forces are taking every measure, including the drawing to their side of Pakistani army units and tribal formations which are at the service of Pakistan, in order to entrench themselves in the province of Nangarhar and capture Jalalabad, its administrative centre. The purpose of the rebels is to form a government of their own in Jalalabad and in this way to create a sort of diarchy in the country. However, according to the reports coming from there, the Nangarhar population strongly opposes these plans. People know how the rebels behaved in Konar and earlier in Konduz, how they engaged in robbery and violence.

The Qandahar Province with the administrative centre of the same name have always been regarded as one of the main targets of the extremists' formations. The situation there dramatically changed for the better in the past several days. After the completion late in January of the delivery to the province of rather substantial Soviet military aid, the Afghan Army got an opportunity to stage a number of strong attacks on opposition detachments surrounding the city. People are returning to Qandahar, public institutions are functioning normally, repair and restoration work is under way. The shelling of the city has practically been stopped.

President Najibullah of Afghanistan met on Tuesday with representatives of the high command of the Armed Forces, commanders of units of the territorial troops and tribal formations. He told them that by proclaiming the national reconciliation policy the Afghan leadership had given all those who were tired of the war going on for many years to return to peaceful work for the benefit of the native land. [sentence as received] However, he continued, the most extremist-minded part of the armed opposition wants to continue the fratricidal war, and we must be ready to defend the honour and dignity of our nation. After the return home of the limited Soviet military contingent is over, units of the Afghan Armed Forces, territorial troops and tribal formations should defend their motherland by themselves, the Afghan leader said in conclusion.

PDPA Tasked With Defending Country

LD0802093589 Moscow TASS in English 0920 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] Kabul February 8 TASS—Afghan opposition groups continued to bombard cities and towns in different provinces during Tuesday.

The Afghan news agency BAKHTAR reported that they fired heavy artillery at Khowst, killing three people and injuring ten in the city.

The Qandahar Airport and security posts in the cities of Herat and Jalalabad were showered with dozens of rockets and shells and there were killed and wounded among Afghan Army troops.

Government units killed more than 150 rebels in Salampur, Abdul Kheil [placenames as received] and Shiveh Districts in Nangarhar Province in the past 24 hours, seizing considerable amounts of weapons, including two rocket launchers, large-caliber machine-guns and grenade launchers.

Secretaries of People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) branches in Kabul held a conference to discuss organising home-guard units to defend the capital.

They were addressed by Sultan 'Ali Keshtmand, a PDPA Central Committee secretary, who said that the task of protecting the country from its enemies will now have to be completely shouldered by its own patriotic forces led by his party.

He said every party member is duty-bound to be in constant combat readiness and show an unshakeable determination to uphold the gains of popular government at this difficult hour.

The Afghan Foreign Ministry sent the 209th note of protest to U.N. monitors in Kabul, detailing further Pakistani violations of the Geneva agreements.

Transition, Difficulties Recounted

LD0802100189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0758 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] Kabul, 8 Feb (TASS)—TASS correspondent Yuriy Tyssovskiy reports:

With the exception of a small subunit staying temporarily to guard the capital's airport, Soviet troops have completely left Kabul. The handing-over to Afghan units of the military zone of the city has been completed—the outposts with their corresponding ammunition depots, rear training installations, bases, medical institutions. At the same time, the air force base in Bagram (Parvan province some 80 km from Kabul, near the road from Hayraton to the capital) has been handed over to the

Afghan side with all the rear training facilities in Charikar and adjacent districts. This was reported to the TASS correspondent by spokesmen of the military command of the limited contingent of soviet troops (LCST)

By Tuesday, the 80 km section of the Kabul-Hayraton road from the capital to Jabal os Saraj went over to the complete control of the Afghan troops. In the southern part of the highway to Salang the changeover today is going according to scheduled plan. According to information being received, Afghan servicemen, taking over posts and outposts, are thanking their Soviet comrades-in-arms, who are welcoming them in brotherly fashion, handing over everything necessary not only for repulsing any attacks from detachments of the irreconcilable opposition, but also for their own keep.

In the Western sector, the withdrawal of Soviet units from the air force base in Shindand has begun along the Shindand-Herat-Towraghondi highway. The Soviet command is handing over the relevant sectors of the main road as far as Herat to its Afghan colleagues, in complete accordance with the established schedule. In a number of regions the handover has already been completed.

In several areas of both sectors the "irreconcilables" have attempted aggressive action and have tried to hinder the transfer of guard posts and other military installations, but have been heavily rebuffed with firepower, halting their attack. This also applies to the units of Ahmed Shah Mas'ud in the southern part of Salang, on which an artillery strike was inflicted in the last week of January. Mas'ud's men suffered major losses and, according to the assessment of military specialists, are incapable of going over to large-scale military sorties. Nevertheless, according to current data, 430 opposition armed formations of various party allegiances are concentrated along the entire line of the Soviet troop withdrawal in the eastern sector, their numbers previously being estimated at 12,000 fighters. In the western sector there are 178 groups totalling over 5,000 people. Recently, however, additional mujahidin forces have been redeployed in these regions, but they have not yet committed themselves to active combat operations.

The elements continue to be the main obstacle, and a very difficult one to overcome. During these days powerful winds are raging in the Salang, there are frosts, the snow situation remains severe, there are continuous snow avalanches, and the roads are iced up.

Under these very complex conditions the selflessness of the men of the Soviet Army and their close interaction with Afghan subunits make it possible to observe the schedule for the withdrawal of thousands of units of military and other machinery and to preserve human life. Avalanches have caused the deaths of the drivers of three KamAz trucks which were swept into an abyss. After this, additional measures were adopted which make it possible to avoid further casualties. Thus, for example, thousands of tonnes of snow came down upon the 59th outpost and all its personnel at the southern entrance to the Salang tunnel. However, thanks to timely assistance from the engineering subunits and the skillful use of machinery, the outpost was rapidly released from the snow and none of the personnel was harmed. The homeland lies ahead and for this reason each soldier and officer is performing his difficult soldier's duty with a sense of great responsibility, awaiting with impatience the hour when he will cross the USSR state frontier.

The command of the limited contingent of Soviet troops has met the leaders of the UN Good Offices Mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan headed by the Finnish general, Rauli Helminen. The UN representative was fully informed about the course of the withdrawal of the Soviet troops. Conditions have been created for verification activity by the officers of the mission on all the withdrawal routes. General R. Helminen expressed gratitude to the Soviet side for its cooperation with and assistance to the members of the international verification machinery for having facilitated to the full the execution of their mission.

Possibilities for Future Afghan Government Noted

LD0301222289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] As you know, comrades, in a few days, in accordance with the provisions of the Geneva accords—and, I will add, on the strength of their strict and rigorous fulfillment by our side—there will not be a single Soviet soldier left in Afghanistan. What will this mean? Is this a correct step on our part? Haven't the sacrifices been in vain? How are relations between our country and our southern neighbor going to shape up? Isn't the tradition of good-neighborliness, which has come into being over decades, now going to be violated? Finally, how are events in that country going to develop following our departure? What form of government will gain the upper hand? What fate lies in store for the long-suffering Afghan people? As you see there are more than enough questions. Well, we are not going to rush in with answers to all these questions, though we will try if not to answer some of them at least to make an attempt to do so. For example, the visit to Pakistan by Iranian foreign Minister Velayati has just ended. The fact that this visit took place at a crucial time for Afghanistan naturally gives rise to a great many questions, too. One of them is this: What is the position taken by Iran and Islamabad on Afghanistan's future? And I put this question to my colleague, commentator Vladimir Fadeyev:

[Fadeyev] So far, you know, you've only asked me one question, Andrey, but before you did so you raised goodness knows how many. All of them, in one way or another, can with complete justification be put down to a special page or section in the history of our foreign policy. Our policy is not to now simply turn over another page in the region we are talking about—to some extent I would say that it is to virtually open up a new page, on

which completely new deeds will be recorded through the will of reason and the new political thinking. Much will be written about Afghanistan, as about other countries.

As far as the visit to Pakistan by the head of the Iranian foreign policy department is concerned, as Velayati himself said in an interview when all the talks had been completed, both sides have achieved great progress in coordinating a single policy with regard to a solution of the Afghan problem. Before Velayati's departure for Islamabad REUTER reported that he had called upon the Afghan mujahidin based both in Iran and in Pakistan to settle the differences that exist between them—which, it must be said, are very serious, affecting first and foremost the form of Afghanistan's future state structure—and to find a common language and form the kind of government that would be in accordance with the aspirations of the Afghan people and in the interests of Islam.

But there are a lot of problems here: Whom do they take to be the people today? Whose aspirations must be taken into consideration in the first place? Throughout all these years the "Alliance of Seven" has been supposedly acting on behalf of the people. But why, then, is it indeed the people who live on the territory of Afghanistan who have suffered so much from the activities of the opposition, which cannot be described other than as bloody and terribly cruel? There has been plunder and extortion, killing and violence.

And does one have to look hard for examples, when today the opposition is making an attempt to blockade the roads around Kabul and other cities in the country, with a view to stifling the peaceful population with cold and hunger? The oppositionists have dealt with their prisoners in medieval fashion, as THE PHILADELHPHIA INQUIRER has reported in the past few days. Perhaps the people are, after all, the millions of Afghans who have throughout these years, albeit slowly, perhaps, been liberating themselves from the fetters of feudalism, under the leadership of the PDPA. Perhaps they have made mistakes, perhaps in some respects they have rushed things and tried to go forward too quickly, but if they have suffered, too, from the stupidity of officials and bureaucracy, they have still suffered less from that than from the war.

The "Alliance of Seven" has announced that a session of the shura, a traditional council, is to be held in Pakistan on 10 February. The rebels will lay down the foundations for an extended government of Afghanistan. Without even going into the details of the bitter fighting between the "Alliance of Seven" and the "Alliance of Eight" over the number of seats in this government I ask the question: Where is the need to elect some government, and to do so once again abroad, when there is a legitimate functioning government in Kabul—recognized by dozens of the world's countries? And why have not all the forces that represent the population of Afghanistan, including the PDPA, been included in the shura to the appropriate extent? It means that yet another opposition body is going to be formed, and this holds out the promise of nothing at all good for the Afghan people.

Furthermore, the current government is essentially already a coalition government. There is just one category that is missing—the mujahidin who are fighting; everyone else is there. What more do they want? They want power, undivided domination over the people, and I stress this especially since the other reason, which has been talked about so much—our presence—will disappear in a few days.

And then this thesis about the need to set up an Islamic government. What kind of government is it now? Is it not an Islamic one? It is Islamic. No, clearly what they are talking about is the formation of a so-called fundamentalist government and state, that is to say based on and similar to the present Iranian government, where—as has been written in the past few days—opponents of the regime are destroyed by the thousand without trial or investigation, and where women wear the yashmak. And so on. That is what I personally am afraid of today.

Citizen Predicts 'Fanatic' Opposition Winning

LD0402013389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1905 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Interview with Farid Qayyumi by Dmitriy Zakharov from the "View" program; date and place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Zakharov] We have raised the subject of Afghanistan many times on our program. Foreign policy experts have talked about it, young men who have fought in Afghanistan have talked about it. But what does this problem of Afghanistan look like through the eyes of an Afghan? Farid Qayyumi, an Afghan we have invited to visit us, will tell us about this.

[Qayyumi] When we talk about Afghanistan today or Afghanistan in the future, we are directly linked to the Afghanistan of the past; the past in that long-suffering country was not the most happy one. Picture a country that is extremely backward, effectively cut off from civilization and the outside world. The religion of Islam lives in every Afghan and in the most fanatical way. The regime of Daud, president before the revolution, was so self-confident that he failed to see the trend within the people, the trend that could overthrow his regime. He simply could not see it. It was an unexpected blow that was dealt. It must not be said that a revolution had taken place in Afghanistan when political power was seized, when this was in fact an armed coup, a genuine armed coup. When the people actually understood what had really happened in the country in April, we naturally decided to appeal to the Soviet Union. Speaking objectively and as an Afghan citizen, however, the people did not anticipate the arrival of Soviet Armed Forces. They did not expect it; it came as a surprise, one of many.

[Zakharov] Farid, if a genuine assessment of the situation is made, who has more military and political potential, the opposition or the PDPA?

[Qayyumi] Well, you see, unfortunately, our leaders are saying that our Army is able to defend the gains of the April Revolution following the withdrawal of Soviet troops. Here there is a matter of simple logic. We have been fighting, and most bitterly, for 11 years, with Soviet troops alongside helping us and taking upon themselves—bearing on their shoulders—the greater part of the war. They constitute a vast force and one upon which we really always did rely. In 11 years, they have been unable to deal with the situation. Now, we are simply losing this reliable force. There is simply no possiblity of fighting any longer. To win you do not need an equivalent force, you need to have more than your enemy.

[Zakharov] What is happening in the provinces from which troops are withdrawing? Tell us about that.

[Qayyumi] There is a glaring example. In Konduz Province, for example, when the Soviet troops left, there was tragedy within, literally, a few days. A great many people died, a great many people. The counterrevolution, the internal counterrevolution, immediately burst into the province and everything that was linked to the revolution, the party, and the Soviet troops, was all destroyed.

[Zakharov] To whom will the future belong?

[Qayyumi] The people do not have much choice—those who do not support us. The revolutionaries, that I can say for certain. Why? Because for 10 years we have not given the Afghan people anything, anything. Sheer hunger, destruction, disease, infection, etc. The counterrevolution, however, is unlike us successful, simply because the counterrevolution has not given aliens—in the eyes of the Afghan people—by which I mean the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan—the opportunity of coming into their country. That is one thing. Then they have the weapon we lost long ago: religion...religion. We got off to a very bad start, an erroneous start. We came out against religion, very, very imprudently. Now revenge will quite simply be taken against people, I think. I cannot, of course, say that the situation will be settled immediately after the withdrawal of Soviet troops or as soon as there is a change of political regime. There will be fairly serious fighting among the opposition. This consists of seven groupings. I think, however, that when that fighting takes place it will not affect the people directly, as it is now, because they will be fighting for power.

[Zakharov] Who are the opposition, the counterrevolution's leaders?

[Qayyumi] I can find no more appropriate name for them than fanatics. (?Of course, I cannot tell you that) everything that happens in specific countries will also happen in our country. It will be an Islamic republic in which, most likely, each inhabitant will return to the past, the women will wear the veil and will not, of course, have the right, for instance, to go to school, etc. I am convinced, certain, that the counterrevolution will never last in Afghanistan. (?It will happen, too.) Afghanistan will become Afghanistan. Now we must make the utmost effort to lose as little as possible. It really is not fair. We wanted the people's happiness. It was for this that we carried out the revolution and for this that we fought. But we are too few.

History of Relations With Afghanistan Reviewed

LD0402022589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1905 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Interview with Boris Dmitriyevich Pyadyshev, editor of MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN, by Dmitriy Zakharov from the "View" program; date and place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Zakharov] In a few weeks our troops will leave Afghanistan. Another leaf in the history of our foreign policy will have been turned. But will our departure mean that stability will come to Afghanistan or that peace will reign? Boris Dmitriyevich, I think your magazine will not escape the ordeal, and you will have to write about what is happening in Afghanistan. What do you think?

[Pyadyshev] Now, today, and tomorrow, until 15 February, when the last Soviet soldier leaves Afghanistan, and after 15 February, that tragedy will, of course, be the greatest grief for the entire Soviet people, for the Russian [as heard] people and the Afghan people. Of course we will all be thinking about this for many years, weighing it, wondering how we ended up there. Why? What took us into a futile war without mercy for our people? Of course, our press and our magazine will be writing about it. It is hard to talk about Afghanistan at the moment. It is difficult at this time to listen to what our young Afghan friend had to say [reference to Qayyumi in preceding report] because it is precisely over these days that emotions are reaching a peak. Things are coming to a head. We are all troubled, we are all thinking and worrying as to what will come after 15 February. I do not think the person exists who could say with any precision what will happen after 15 February. We will hope for the best. The Kabul government does have possibilities. However, the situation there could develop in the most unpredictable way.

I went to that country (?and not for the first time) in 1973, along with our then President Podgornyy on an official visit. There were talks with the King of Afghanistan Zahir Shah. We had marvelous relations, marvelous relations with that country. It was precisely in May of 1973 that the armed coup headed by Daud was planned for. The conspirators had to put their coup off for several months, but it did take place all the same. With the coming to power of the Daud regime, we found ourselves dragged more and more into Afghan internal

affairs. Then came the events that were called the April Revolution and we were still further...[changes thought] In this way, the logic of events made our presence on this land close to us, greater and greater. The government of Taraki and then of Amin as well constantly appealed to us for help, to bring in troops— and here, in my view, a poorly understood concept of internationalism came into play. Poorly understood in the sense that somewhere in the entourage of Mikhail Andreyevich Suslov, proletarian, socialist internationalism was interpreted in such a way that we were obliged to be present wherever, in his view, the national-liberation movement was on the increase. Our presence was needed there. (?This came on top) of the tragic situation of Brezhnev's closest entourage in which the decision was made. What kind of glasnost was there? What a miscalculation of the Soviet state's national interests, when other members of the then Soviet leadership did not even know of the decision. So, by a combination of all these circumstances, we ended up there. We have been there 10 years. How events are developing.... Basically we do not know how events developed there. For us, this Afghan war remains an unknown and unfamiliar war. Now the only decision—and herein lies the courage and wisdom of the new Soviet leadership that took the reigns of control in the country in April or March of 1985—the only decision is to leave, withdraw from Afghanistan. This is for the good of our people and ultimately in the interests of the Afghan people, ultimately in the interests of international relations in general. It would, of course, do a great deal to relieve general tension and would, of course, be a great contribution to improving the climate worldwide.

[Zakharov] Thank you, Boris Dmitriyevich.

Present Regime Cannot Expect 'Simple Struggle'

LD0702124989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0400 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] One of the most important issues in the mass media at the moment, of course, is, the situation in Afghanistan. As is known, the Soviet Union and the Republic of Afghanistan have confirmed that the Soviet troops will be withdrawn from the country by 15 February. Well, what is the situation in Afganistan today? Aleksandr Shkirando, our correspondent in Kabul, reports:

[Shkirando] More than 70 representatives of the biggest news agencies and radio and television stations—mostly, it is true, from Western countries—have come here to cover the final stage of the withdrawal of Soviet troops. From Lieutenant General Boris Gromov, commander of the limited contingent of Soviet troops, and then from President Najibullah, they were able to hear from themselves that the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan will be fully completed by 15 February. The fact is that even before these news conferences began, a brouhaha was continuing in the West, alleging that the Soviet Union was trying, under any pretext, to leave part of its troops in the country. I must note that the greater part of the questions from Western journalists were devoted to this issue. In reply, they heard the clear position both of our country and of Afghanistan.

As far as the military-political situation in the past week is concerned, it has been comparatively stable. This has been brought about, in my view, by the fact that the rebels have adopted a wait and see position. Thanks to the clearing of rebels from areas adjoining the Hayraton-Kabul road, the organization of an airlift from the border regions of our country, and the convoys bringing food and fuel, it has, on the whole, been possible to break the economic blockade. However, the shortage of fuel, so necessary in this cold winter to heat houses in Kabul, has continued to be felt. Moreover, for several weeks now the rebels have been maintaining a blockade on the towns of Gardeyz and Khowst. The aim of these actions is quite understandable: Using rocket artillery bombardment and an economic blockade, they are striving to create an atmosphere of terror and uncertainty among the population, and in the final analysis, to set the population against the current government in order to seize power in the country later.

During his recent press conference, Afghan President Najibullah stated that the country's Armed Forces and hundreds of thousands of members of the PDPA and its political allies, as well as all national patriotic forces, are ready to defend Afghanistan's national interests and to prevent the disorder upon which the extremists are pinning their hopes. Nevertheless, one has to expect that the present regime will not have a simple struggle.

U.S. Reported To Supply More Arms To Rebels

LD0702131989 Moscow TASS in English 1310 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] Washington February 7 TASS—by TASS Correspondent Andrey Fedyashin:

Afghan opposition groups have been supplied with yet another large batch of U.S. weapons.

The operation was witnessed by James Rupert, a WASHINGTON POST correspondent. According to him, 15 lorries carrying arms crossed the border approximately 40 miles east of the Afghan city of Jalalabad.

Rupert writes that the arms supply operation provided an unusual opportunity to see the functioning of the channel through which aid to the rebels has been funneled for a number of years and which is monitored by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency together with the Pakistani military reconnaissance service. The convoy was accompanied by U.S. and Pakistani representatives this time as well.

The correspondent points out that the Americans took pictures and video filmed the arms-laden lorries. At the same time journalists were told to refrain from taking pictures.

When a U.S. reporter tried to find out details of the operation from one of his fellow countrymen who monitored it, the latter declined to speak on the subject.

The WASHINGTON POST points out that at the same time one Pakistani officer acknowledged in a talk that the cargo was intended for armed opposition groups for an attack on Jalalabad.

Art Berger, a spokesman for the U.S. State Department, in response to a request by a TASS correspondent to comment on the newspaper report said he had no information on the subject. He said he read the report but could not say anything concerning it, and pointed out that the State Department was not involved in the arms supply operation.

UN Afghan Situation Representative on Talks

LD0702203389 Moscow TASS in English 1915 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] Quito February 7 TASS—The Soviet Union strictly abides by the Geneva agreements, which is evidenced by the concluding stage of the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan, Diego Cordovez, the U.N. secretary-general's representative on the settlement of the situation related to Afghanistan, said here today before his departure for New York.

The aim of his visit is to conduct consultations with Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar on issues of Afghan settlement.

He also intends to hold talks with representatives of the states which signed the Geneva accords.

Cordovez said he did not rule out his fact-finding trip to Kabul.

'Immediate End' to Executions in Iran Called For

NC0602094389 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 5 Feb 89

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee has called for an immediate end to the execution of political prisoners in Iran. A report states that the CPSU Central Committee shares the Soviet public's concern over reports on the execution of representatives of the Tudeh Party of Iran, of the Feda'iyan-e Khalq Organization—Majority, and of other organizations. This concern is reflected in the numerous letters received by the CPSU Central Committee.

East Europe

Gorbachev To Meet Hungary's Grosz in March

LD0702145889 Moscow TASS in English 1453 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 7 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, will by agreement meet in Moscow in the second half of next March.

Reportage on Polish 'Roundatable' Talks

PZPR Politburo 'Satisfied'

LD0802083989 Moscow TASS in English 0828 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw February 8 TASS—The Politburo of the Polish United Workers' Party Central Committee is satisfied with the beginning of round-table negotiations, involving representatives of all influential constitutional social and political forces, including the church.

This important event reafffirms the correctness of the party's policy of socialist renewal and national concord, being largely prompted by decisions of the tenth plenary meeting of the Polish United Workers' Party Central Committee, says a report on the Politburo meeting held on Tuesday.

Poland's future, the success of socio-political changes, democratization and fundamental economic transformations are on the agenda. The opening of the negotiations meets the fundamental interests of the people and the state and socialist values, supported by the majority of society.

Viewing the realisation of the mainstays of Polish foreign policy with satisfaction, the Politburo set tasks for the current year. These include the development and consolidation of all-round cooperation and friendship with the USSR and other socialist countries, consolidation of the Warsaw Treaty's role in activities for peace and international security, promotion of a reconstruction of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance to create real conditions and efficient mechanisms for accelerating economic and scientific-technological cooperation and promote economic integration processes, creation of favourable conditions for political and economic cooperation with foreign countries to ensure the success of economic reforms promoting economic development and protecting the living standards of Polish citizens.

PRAVDA Reports on Day One

PM0702145189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Feb 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "'Roundtable' Operating"]

[Text] Wasraw, 6 Feb—The first session within the framework of the "roundtable" talks was held in Warsaw today. It was attended by representatives of the government, trade unions, religious circles, and the "constructive opposition," that is, political orientations which have displayed a willingness to participate in overcoming the crisis and seeking ways of achieving a national agreement.

We are embarking on talks with a sense of great responsibility, C. Kiszczak, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and Polish minister of internal affairs, said as he opened the session. After all, what is happening in Poland is a matter of some interest for Europe and the whole world. Moreover, Poland is in the mainstream of the profound changes which have enveloped the socialist countries, and this gives it a dual responsibility. There are hopes in the country today of a rational compromise, of a national agreement on problems of great importance for Poland and for Poles.

Pointing out the PZPR's contribution to the process of reforms and democratization of life and the significance of the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum, the speaker stressed that the party has the political and moral right to expect that all the other dialogue participants will also carry out the necessary reappraisal. Indeed, the possible expansion of trade union pluralism gives rise to valid doubts, fears, and resistance not only in a large number of party members, but also in many nonparty people. They want and must get guarantees that the new "Solidarity" will not revert to its old ways and will not pose a threat to public order and that Poland will not end up in a state of tension and anarchy again. The most important thing now is to provide a response to the question that is frequently asked—whether "Solidarity" intends to respect the existing constitutional setup.

C. Kiszczak proposed that the "roundtable" culminate in the creation of a council of national consensus or a conciliation commission.

The next speaker was L. Walesa, who noted that people are pinning hopes on the "roundtable" but, at the same time, are distrustful. Nonetheless all Poles should be expected to show a loyal awareness of the significance of the problems being raised in the course of the talks and the scale of the responsibility that the present situation imposes on them. He advocated thorough reforms and stated that the process should start with the restoration of trade union pluralism, of "Solidarity."

The session was also addressed by a number of other participants. The text of a joint communique was approved, which mentioned a decision to set up three working groups: on questions of the national economy and social policy, on trade union pluralism, and on political reforms.

Polish Paper Cited on 'Threat' of 'Solidarity'

PM0802112589 Moscow TRUD in Russian 4 Feb 89 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Poland: Before the 'Roundtable'"]

[Text] The newspaper TRYBUNA LUDU has carried under the rubric "Views and Debate" an article by W. Wisniewski, member of the National Confederation of Trade Unions Executive Committee, entitled "Rational Democracy—Constructive Pluralism." Its author critically analyzes the political decisions of the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum on pluralism, which open up the way to the legalization of "Solidarity."

The modest demand or, more accurately, the code name of an operation to create a second trade union at an enterprise conceals a far from modest substance that has nothing to do with trade unions, the author writes. This demand for a second trade union at an enterprise is a screen for a large-scale political operation with profound consequences. It is to be based on the reinstatement of "Solidarity" in the form in which it existed in 1981. Its structure, cadres, apparatus of advisers, and so forth are to be the same. Only its tactics and programs will be slightly modified. "Solidarity's" leaders now admit this officially.

The very method of reinstating "Solidarity's" activities is of great significance. It proves that the opposition does not intend to renounce its former name, structures, or "the romance of heroes of past battles."

The essence of "Solidarity" as a sociopolitical movement is frequently not fully realized. "Solidarity" came into being and took shape as a combat machine to struggle against the Stalinist type of socialism, which it countered with its own structures and methods. It was a kind of conglomerate of trade union, self-management organs, parties, and clubs of the intelligentsia in a single centralized organization, and all these forces found their aspirations satisfied within it.

Why in 1989, when the ice has already melted, do we need an icebreaker like "Solidarity" in its former form? Everyone, including representatives of the opposition, recognizes that Poland now needs calm and national concord. Will this aim be served by an organization adapted for struggle in a quite different situation?

All these premises enable the conclusion to be drawn that "Solidarity's" reinstatement in the form in which it existed in 1981 would pose a great threat to the present authority, to the process of reforms, and to stability.

There can only be one answer to the question of what to do now in Poland—boldly take the path of democratization, creating guarantees against the situation's spontaneous development, and build lasting and transitional forms of dialogue and compromise. The key question of "Solidarity's" legalization must be resolved positively, but not from one day to the next. In addition, the organization itself must be fundamentally different to what it was in 1981. A kind of definite transitional period from one trade union model to another by way of accumulating experience and developing accord must be set.

W. Wisniewski emphasizes that the principle of one trade union at one enterprise or, in well-founded cases, one trade union representation of the entire labor collective must be preserved. Within the framework of "Solidarity" there must primarily be a separation of the trade union current from the political, self-management, and religious areas, as well as from clubs and societies of sociopolitical thought. Trade union pluralism can on no account serve to replace genuine political pluralism.

The Sejm, where parties and public unions and organizations are represented, is the proper place for debate and political struggle. Enterprises and the economy are the least suitable place for this. Therefore the order in which urgent problems are resolved and the forms of democratization of life in Poland are important, the author points out in conclusion.

PRAVDA Reports on LCY's 3-Day Plenum

PM0702153789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Feb 89 Second Edition p 7

[Own correspondent Ye. Fadeyev dispatch: "In Search of Solutions. The 20th LCY Central Committee Plenum Has Ended"]

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Feb—The 20th LCY Central Committee Plenum ended late yesterday evening after 3 days' work. This fact in itself indicates how difficult the current situation in Yugoslavia and the LCY is.

The plenum, which examined the political situation in the country, relations within the LCY, and the activity and responsibility of the Central Committee and its Presidium, was awaited here particularly attentively. It was noted at the session that the political situation in the SFRY has not only seen no change for the better but has even deteriorated over the last few months. The lack of unity within the party leadership has had an adverse effect. The dissatisfaction of the working class and broad strata of working people with the slow implementation of social reform has intensified.

A principled and self-critical discussion took place at the plenum, which was attended by a total of almost 100 communists. It was characterized by a sincere desire to find solutions to the most important questions in the life of the party and the people. At the same time it should be pointed out that the speakers were not united in their views either on the reasons for the current crisis or on ways of overcoming it.

Many speakers pointed out that the blame for the complex situation lies above all with the party leadership, yet ordinary workers have to pay for it. Refusal to heed the masses' demands has also led to uncontrolled people's protests, for instance, in Vojvodina and Montenegro. It is no coincidence that S. Suvar, chairman of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, pointed out from the forum's rostrum: "We must begin overcoming the crisis where it began—within the party."

The LCY, it was pointed out at the plenum, is still unable to show firm determination in implementing the decisions outlined by the 13th party congress and the first LCY conference. A number of the program's items are being implemented inconsistently and intolerably slowly. Another idea ran through many speeches—the communists are prepared to defend a socialist, federal Yugoslavia but not individual personalities, groups, and their isolated interests.

The following fact indicates the acuteness of the situation. The League of Communists of Vojvodina conference demanded the dismissal of S. Suvar, chairman of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. The question was submitted for discussion by the plenum. Its participants assessed this demand as uncorroborated by any serious argument and rejected it.

The 20th LCY Central Committee Plenum as it were continued the 17th Plenum held last October, at which unity within the party ranks was the subject of keen discussion. It was now confirmed that unity must be created solely on the basis of the three reforms that have been outlined—in the economy, in the political system, and within the party.

There is something else that should be noted. In the course of the plenum's work many of its participants (although the agenda did not provide for this) expressed support for Ante Markovic, candidate for the post of head of the new federal government, and his recently expounded program. S. Suvar also talked about it in his concluding remarks: "We should support a program that inspires great hopes."

The LCY Central Committee Presidium chairman pointed out that it is now a question of creating a new economic mechanism based on market laws rather than amending the existing mechanism. It is quite clear that individuals will leave the leadership during the changes, he stated. However, this should be resolved only under conditions of democratic dialogue.

The resolution adopted by the plenum says that the task of overcoming the grave economic and political situation within the country, improving the position of the working class, and achieving unity within the LCY has been made the focus of activity for the LCY Central Committee, its Presidium, and all communists.

The most important tasks for the coming period include the cadre renewal of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium. A decision was adopted to convene an LCY congress by the end of this year.

The plenum resolved a number of organizational questions. A. Vlasi and S. Dolasevic, former leaders of Kosovo Autonomous Province, and M. Mesihovic, representative of Bosnia-Hercegovina, were removed from the LCY Central Committee by secret ballot. The request of LCY Central Committee Presidium members

B. Zarkovic and M. Orlandic to retire was met. They were also relieved of their duties as members of the LCY Central Committee. In accordance with the course of separating party and state functions and renewing the LCY Central Committee, 15 people were also removed from the LCY Central Committee. They include three members of the SFRY Presidency—L. Mojsov, S. Dolanc, and S. Hasani.

The LCY is going through a crucial period. Hence the acute debates and the plenum's 3 days of work. Yet communists are firmly convinced that the party together with society can resolve the pressing problems to pull the country out of the crisis. "Unity through reform." That is the main front-page headline in today's edition of BORBA.

West Europe

Kamentsev Continues Visit to UK 7 Feb

Meets Thatcher

LD0702191189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1806 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] London, 7 Feb (TASS)—On 7 February V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, who is on a visit to Great Britain, met Prime Minister M. Thatcher.

V.M. Kamentsev conveyed to M. Thatcher greetings and best wishes from M.S. Gorbachev.

During the conversation the prime minister displayed a lively interest in the progress of economic restructuring in the Soviet Union and in reform of the management of foreign economic relations. The deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers gave detailed explanations on these questions. He stressed the Soviet Union's readiness to develop mutually advantageous trade and economic relations with Western countries using both established, traditional and new forms of cooperation, including the creation of joint companies and enterprises and coproduction. The reform of management of foreign economic relations now taking place in the USSR is designed to further boost this process.

Note was made of the obvious positive changes for the better in Soviet-British economic cooperation that have taken place since M.S. Gorbachev's first meeting with the British prime minister in December 1984. In the time elapsed the sides, by joint effort, have come close to fulfilling the plans then envisaged to bring goods turnover to R 2.5 billion by the year 1990, but implementation of this task still requires unslackening mutual attention.

On the British side readiness was displayed for a more effective involvement of British companies, firms, and banks in projects in fields of primary importance for the Soviet national economy. There was discussion of specific questions of cooperation in the field of production of consumer goods, in the agro-industrial complex, and the woodworking and chemical industries.

The British prime minister stressed that careful preparations had begun in London for M.S. Gorbachev's comming official visit in April and the intention was to give the Soviet leader worthy attention and hospitality. The British side, M. Thatcher said, felt that the Soviet-British summit meeting would raise to a new level the two countries' cooperation on a broad range of international problems and also on specific questions of the development of mutually favorable Soviet-British relations.

The talk was businesslike and concrete. It is regarded by the sides as a useful contribution to bringing to light the opportunities being opened up to the foreign economic departments, enterprises, and cooperatives in light of the new forms of business relations.

Taking part in the conversation were L.M. Zamyatin, USSR ambassador to Great Britain, and R. Braithwaite, British ambassador to the USSR.

Meets Trade, Industry Official

LD0702215389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1602 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] London, 7 Feb (TASS)—The policy of restructuring in the USSR is opening up new prospects for all-around development of Soviet-British trade and economic relations. This was said today at talks between Lord Young, secretary of state for trade and industry of Great Britain, and V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, chairman of the State Foreign Policy Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers, who is here on a visit.

Agreements on Soviet-UK Joint Enterprises Signed

Plastics Enterprise Protocol

LD0702215889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1540 GMT 7 Feb 89

[text] London, 7 Feb (TASS)—Yu.A. Bespalov, USSR chemical industry minister, and Allan Gormly, director of the British "John Brown" company, signed a protocol here today, formerly confirming the formation of a new Soviet-British joint enterprise "Asetko."

The enterprise's first project will be to modernize and increase the production capacity of the polyethylene plant in Budennovsk [in Stavropol Kray, RSFSR], which forms part of the "Stavropolpolimer" association. Later, "Asetko" will start modernizing a polyethylene plant in Kazan.

Joint Stock Company Agreement

LD0702220489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1908 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] London, 7 Feb (TASS)—Yu.A. Bespalov, USSR chemical industry Minister, and Oswald Berstein, president of the British "Golodetz" company, today signed a protocol on the creation later this year of a joint British-Soviet joint stock company. Its task includes expanding mutual trade in chemical goods with the participation of various Soviet enterprises and organizations.

Business circles in Great Britain think that the forthcoming visit to the country by the Soviet leader, M.S. Gorbachev, will have a positive effect on the development of British-Soviet relations, O. Berstein declared in a conversation with a TASS correspondent. In the opinion of many British firms, he pointed out, the process of perestroyka in the Soviet Union is opening up new, favorable opportunities for the expansion of bilateral trade and economic ties.

Cooperation With Belgo-Luxembourg Union Discussed

Intergovernmental Commission Meets

LD0602135189 Moscow TASS in English 1343 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 6 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vladimir Kulikovskikh:

The state and prospects for developing trade, economic, industrial, scientific and technical ties between the Soviet Union and the Belgo-Luxembourg Economic Union (BLEU) are being discussed at the 14th session of the intergovernmental mixed commission which opened here on Monday. The co-chairmen of the commission are deputy foreign trade minister Gairat Rakhimbayev, from the Soviet side, and Robert Guillot-Pingue, general director of foreign and economic ties of the Belgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, foreign trade and cooperation, from the Belgian side.

The session is being attended by Konstantin Katushev, Soviet foreign trade minister, Willy Claes, Belgian deputy prime minister and minister of economics, and Robert Urbain, Belgian minister of foreign trade.

In connection with the commission's 20th anniversary, the heads of government of the USSR, Belgium and Luxembourg sent congratulatory messages to the session's participants.

The commission presided over a 600 per cent increase in Soviet-BLEU trade which was estimated at nearly 1.2 billion roubles in 1988. The dynamics of trade turnover, which was growing on the whole, suffered setbacks for different reasons in some years. However, the growth of trade in 1987 and 1988 is a sign that some of the negative factors have been reversed.

The past few years saw a transfer from simple trade exchanges to more complicated and advanced forms of economic interaction—trade in licenses and cooperation on the markets of third countries. Joint enterprise is yet to be fully developed: There are only three Soviet-Luxembourg enterprises in the USSR and a Belgian firm is involved in the third, Soviet-Italian, venture. The 11 Soviet joint-stock societies in BLEU are mainly engaged in marketing, transportation and forwarding operations.

Konstantin Katushev met Willy Claes and Robert Urbain before the opening of the session.

USSR, Benelux Trade Officials Meet

LD0802094989 Moscow TASS in English 0857 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 8 TASS—Questions of cooperation between Belgian firms and Soviet partners were discussed at a meeting between vice-chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Chamber of Trade and Industry, Yuriy Bulakh, and co-chairman of the Soviet-Belgian-Luxembourg commission for economic and scientific-technological cooperation, Robert Guillot-Pingue. The meeting was held at the USSR Chamber of Trade and Industry on Tuesday.

The delegation of the Benelux Economic union learned about changes that had taken place in the USSR Chamber's structure, new areas in its activities.

Yuriy Bulakh said that industrial enterprises of practically all regions of the country are being attracted, with the chamber's assistance, to foreign market activities. The USSR chamber of trade and industry is planning to start the construction of trade centres in the Ukraine, Siberia and the Far East to enable better interaction with their foreign partners.

Robert Guillot-Pingue said that Belgium and Luxembourg firms were interested in developing economic cooperation with Soviet enterprises, including co-production and joint ventures. Products to be put out by joint enterprises should be of a high quality. To revitalize bilateral economic cooperation now that the USSR's foreign economic activity is being decentralized, it is necessary to resolve financing and account settlement problems, to ensure protection of foreign investments in the Soviet economy and improve the information supply.

Tolstykh, Belgian Minister Meet

LD0702211989 Moscow TASS in English 2052 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 7 TASS—Boris Tolstykh, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, and Willy Claes, Belgian deputy prime minister and minister for the budget, scientific policy and planning, discussed at their meeting, held here on

February 7, the state of scientific, technical and economic relations between the USSR and the Belgian-Luxemburg economic union and prospects for their further development. The deputy prime minister leads the union's delegation at the 14th session of the mixed commission on bilateral economic, scientific and technical cooperation, which is being held in Moscow.

It was pointed out that in the past few years favourable conditions shaped up to develop bilateral cooperation in fundamental sciences, space explorations, in public health, medicine and the environmental control. However, in the opinion of the sides, the results of this cooperation do not fully conform to available possibilities.

In this connection Boris Tolstykh called attention of Willy Claes to the Soviet Union's intention to develop scientific and technical cooperation with foreign countries in two areas. The first of them is connected with traditional forms of cooperation where there is experience, contractual and organisational infrastructure. The second area which will make up the basis for Soviet scientific and technical relations in future, concerns interaction in spheres incorporated in Soviet state scientific and technical programmes. They were drafted with an account taken of world experience and main trends in scientific and technical development abroad and provide not only for conducting fundamental research but also for implementing various industrial development studies, creating new machinery, technologies and even construction of projects on a turn-key basis.

He pointed out that the Soviet Government would give most serious assistance to all joint projects within the state programmes. This concerns above all financing.

Willy Claes said that the union's delegation had specific proposals on some items of the Soviet state scientific and technical programmes, for instance on the development of cooperation in the rational use of energy, medicine and some engineering industries.

Party Officials Meet Belgian Ministers

LD0702215889 Moscow TASS in English 2152 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 8 TASS—Valentin Falin and Vladimir Shimko, heads of departments of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, met here on Tuesday with Willy Claes, Belgian deputy prime minister and minister of economy, member of the leadership of the Belgian Socialist Party (Flemish wing), and with Robert Urbain, Belgian minister of foreign trade and member of the leadership of the Belgian Socialist Party (French-speaking wing).

The Belgian ministers were interested in the progress of restructuring (perestroyka) in Soviet economy and in the potentialities it created for stepping up Soviet-Belgian trade and economic relations.

The sides exchanged views on questions connected with disarmament and the ensurance of security in Europe.

Political & Social

Law Enforcement Officials Discuss Crime, Measures

LD0702144289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] Today in Moscow the coordination council of union law enforcement bodies' leaders discussed the fight against crime and measures to strengthen law and order in the country. The participants in the meeting, which was chaired by USSR General Procurator Sukharev, said that it is not possible to develop the process of consistently reducing crime which began in 1985. In the past year the total number of serious crimes increased more than six percent. It was noted that organized criminal groups are active. Crime has considerably increased among minors.

Many leaders of law enforcement bodies have failed to draw timely conclusions from the CPSU Central Committee decision on the state of the fight against crime in the country and additional measures to prevent violations of law and order. This document pays attention to the negative trends that have taken shape and serious miscalculations in the work of law enforcement bodies, whose reliance on the public at large is weak.

In a number of places unjustified complacency and underestimates of factors at the root of crimes have been allowed to take place. Sharpness has been lost in reacting to hooliganism, drug addiction, and drunkeness. Appropriate conclusions have not been drawn from the process of humanizing the policy on crime. Those released from criminal responsibility or sentenced to punishment other than deprivation of liberty have frequently gotten out of control. Many of those who have been released from places of imprisonment fail to receive timely aid in finding work and making everyday living arrangements.

The coordination council paid attention to professional miscalculations, low standards of urgent inquiry work, and a weakening of supervision over investigations and questioning by the procurator. Cases of officials evading decisions on infractions of law and order and slackening the fight against dangerous criminals and recidivists have become more frequent. The meeting adopted a coordinated program of measures to enhance the fight against crime, and advance democratic processes underway in our country. At the same time, the main efforts will be focused on enhancing preventive measures.

Sukharev Cites Statistics

LD0702184989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Excerpts] There was an enlarged session of the coordinating council of the country's law enforcement bodies at the USSR Procuracy today. Taking part in it were the procurators and ministers of internal affairs of the union republics, the procurators of krays and oblasts, and transport and military procurators. Our correspondent Anatoliy Fedorov interviewed USSR Procurator General Aleksandr Yakovlevich Sukharev.

[Fedorov] Aleksandr Yakovlevich, as we know, a decision has been made to reveal crime statistics. This is my question in connection with this: What is the operational situation that has taken shape in the country and could you please give some figures?

[Sukharev] After a period of 2 or 3 years of reducing the level of criminally punishable manifestations, last year the crime curve, including serious crime, went up in virtually all areas. If one excludes the statistical data on samogon distilling, and these are very high, we have had an overall increase in crime of 10 percent in the past year. This is even greater in certain areas, for example an increase of one-third in Kirgiziya and 56 percent in Moldavia. All in all, and it is very important to stress this, serious crime has increased. For example, the number of murder has gone up by 14 percent—last year there were 13,890. The number of cases of grievous bodily harm increased by more than 8 percent—we had more than 26,000 last year. There were 19,800 rapes and attempted rapes. Muggings increased by 10 percent—almost 12,000 were committed.

[Fedorov] What about a problem for all the big towns and settlements—the number of burglaries?

[Sukharev] 540,000. This has increased 36 percent. The one more or less comforting figure I can note is that the number of cases of hooliganism registered has decreased by almost 13 percent in the past year. However, I will say frankly that this could be to a certain extent an indicator of a relaxation of the struggle against crime, because acts of hooliganism are the type of crime, and we know this from experience, where the crime level is established by the number of cases of hooliganism. It is a communicating vessel in the dynamics of crime so if you underestimate hooliganism then serious crime increases. I think that the moment has come when people have begun to underestimate manifestations of hooliganism.

[Fedorov] This is the reason, evidently, for the increase in street crime, the incidence of which, as was noted at the council, increased by 40 percent. These are interconnected phenomena.

[Sukharev] Undoubtedly. Organized crime has also increased. New types of it have appeared in the form of clans of criminals who are penetrating our cooperative movement. [passage omitted]

[Fedorov] As a point of information, 600 cases of racketeering were registered in our country. Only 139 complaints were made to the police and investigate bodies. Is this also a problem?

[Sukharev] Yes. This alliance, in quotations, when a racketeer enjoys support either through fear or through silent consent, leads to no good. We must all give thought on how to fight this very odious and dangerous phenomenon.

[Fedorov] How many crimes remained unsolved?

[Sukharev] Over a period of 1 year, last year, over 400,000 crimes remained unsolved.

[Fedorov] Aleksandr Yakovlevich, as is clear from that sorry figure, the state of affairs in our country over the struggle against crime is not going too well. [passage omitted]

Sukharev News Conference

LD0802025889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 7 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] USSR Procurator General Sukharev addressed a news conference today. [passage omitted]

[Begin Sukharev recording] We must seriously analyze the appropriateness of our professional reaction to the [criminal] situation. The number of crimes is increasing, while their solutions are decreasing. Last year there were 463,000 unsolved crimes, compared with 259,000 in 1987. In the 1st half of last year—there are no statistics yet for the current year—there was a drop of 32 percent in the number of penalties assessed by the courts. Is this gap justified? Hardly. The more so in that there are numerous instances where our over-cautiousness is used by hardened criminals and recidivists.

There is also another problem shaping up, one which I would say is more complex: how, and with what, will we fill the vaccuum that has undoubtedly formed as a result of the humanization of criminal policy? Only somewhat over 30 percent of those convicted, as opposed to a recent past figure of 60-70 percent are imprisoned. The rest remain at liberty. In what way can we increase the preventive potential so as to remain at this humanitarian standpoint without subjecting our society to risk and without resorting again to toughening up repressions? After all, we all remember where the bottomless cruelty led. It led to social complications and growth in recidivism. [end recording] [passage omitted] [video shows Sukharev speaking]

Deputies Discuss Draft Criminal Legislation

LD0702214689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1508 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow, 7 Feb (TASS)—The group of deputies set up in the Soviet Parliament in connection with the nationwide discussion of the draft foundations of criminal legislation today summed up the observations and proposals which have come in.

As Aleksandr Filatov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Court, told our TASS correspondent that virtually each article of the draft law has been subjected to critical analysis. The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Secretariat has received over 1,500 proposals and recommendations on the draft. The largest number of observations concerns the section on punishment, particularly the articles on deprivation of liberty and the death penalty, and also those in which matters of acquittal are resolved.

Observations directed at the further humanization of criminal law were supported by the members of the preparatory commission. At the same time, they did not agree with proposals concerning widening the range of crimes for which it is possible to apply the death penalty.

Work on the draft is continuing.

MVD Collegium Views Crime's 'Negative Trends'

PM0702150789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Feb 89 Second Edition p 2

[Report by A. Chernenko: "Worries and Hopes"]

[Text] Such things can happen. In the course of a single year a Muscovite, Sh., first had the wheels removed from his car, then his apartment was robbed, then a few months later it was robbed again, and then his wife was robbed while on a business trip.

But the police did not initiate proceedings on any of these crimes—either in the capital or locally!

This fact was, perhaps, the most striking illustration of the discussion that took place at an expanded session of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry collegium.

It discussed the major problem areas of the country's law-enforcement system, the role of internal affairs organs in building a rule-of-law state, and, in particular, the difficult and sometimes dramatic situations that occur in connection with offenses, on the one hand, and the incompetence of some Internal Affairs Ministry personnel on the other.

USSR Internal Affairs Minister V.V. Bakatin indicated a number of negative trends that have been very evident in the past year. They include an increase in the overall number of crimes and a considerable increase in crimes in criminal investigation departments, grievous bodily harm, robberies, and murders, and youth and organized crime.

Department for Combating the Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation components' work has deteriorated considerably and they are no longer on the ball—which has had a dramatic effect on the overall number of thefts, short delivery, and squandering of state property. Admitting that the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry is today a highly "complex inertia system," the

minister placed the blame for the sluggishness and bureaucratic distortions on management personnel—central and local—who are often engaged not in active work, but in creating paperwork. In a year the Internal Affairs Ministry system produces 370,000 "pieces of paper" (that is, about 1,000 a day!). Percentage-mania has led to the widespread practice of concealing crimes—which causes the public to distrust the authorities and have no confidence in their ability to combat such crime growth areas as burglary, hooliganism, and clashes between informal youth groups. More than 2 million letters, mainly complaints about police work, are received daily by the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry system—24,000 addressed to the central apparatus. One-half of the complaints are corroborated. This fact shows that something is wrong in a number of ministry components.

The collegium determined specific ways to improve staffing and utilize the work experience of major components and of individual employees waging a vigorous and uncompromising struggle against crime. The situation in law and order services is difficult at the moment, but it is not enough to recognize the fact—it is important to act, by backing honest and active workers at the local level and encouraging not "rosy reports," but concrete work results only.

V.M. Chebrikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, participated in the collegium's work. Senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, and law-enforcement and other organs were present.

MVD Section Records Crime Data, Information

PM0702141389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 7

[Report by USSR Internal Affairs Ministry staffer N. Panchenko under the rubric "At the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry Duty Section: January, Strange Fires..."]

[Text] Crime information flows into the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry duty section from all over the country. It also receives reports on major accidents, disasters, and natural calamities. The duty officers log the information as it comes in, check it, and make decisions.

The following news has just come in, for example: "There has been a fire in a rayon Potrebsoyuz industrial goods warehouse in the village of Kaysatskoye in Pallasovskiy Rayon, Volgograd Oblast. Estimated damage—R130,000."

"We do not log all the information concerned with breaches of law and order," duty section chief Police Lieutenant Colonel B. Bodrashov explains, "but only that which poses the greatest public danger. For instance, we log only those fires which cause damage in excess of R50,000. But the worrying element in the information we are currently receiving on fires is the fact that, as a rule, it is stores, warehouses, and service premises in trade outlets..."

I leafed through a file of data: "Strela" store burned down on 3 January in Tselinograd, Kazakh SSR, damage—R100,000; on 4 January, at the "50th Anniversary of the Uzbek SSR" Sovkhoz, near Tashkent, a rayon Potrebsoyuz store was destroyed by fire together with its contents, valued at R50,000. On the same day, in the city of Kotovo, Volgograd Oblast, a warehouse containing fabrics, clothing, and footwear worth a total of R270,000 was reduced to ashes. On 7 January the same fate befell a store in the village of Gorodets, which is in Leningrad Oblast. On 9 January in the rayon center of Golyshmanovo, Tyumen Oblast, fire destroyed goods worth R80,000 in a rayon Potrebsoyuz store. On 10 January a store warehouse in Tambov Oblast burned down, damage totaling R70,000.

"An analysis of the information," B. Bordashov continued, "helps to determine criminal methods and dynamics. Compared with 1987, last year's picture is as follows. The number of murders increased by approximately 10 percent. There was a sharp increase in muggings, including attacks on drivers with the aim of stealing vehicles. There was a twofold increase in break-ins at apartments and citizen's homes..."

What kind of picture is taking shape in the New Year? I turned to the statistics again. Robberies are recorded nearly every day. For example, on 4 January there was a break-in at the apartment of N. Ozeredenko, first secretary of Bogotolskiy CPSU Raykom (Krasdnoyarsk Kray). Certain unidentified persons, one of them brandishing a knife, took a Fisher video recorder and four fur hats and then vanished. The previous day information came in from Sochi. Late at night five unidentified people wearing masks broke into the home of I. Kishkin, a priest at a Sochi church, threatened him with a knife, beat him up, and made off with R3,500, a Sharp tape recorder, some articles made of gold, and church plate.

You can easily discern a trend in the break-ins. The robbers prefer homes whose owners have items of substantial value. Rather frequent victims include waiters, bartenders, trade personnel, and cooperative workers. And here is another unusual case. In Moscow, outside No 30 Leningrad Avenue, three unidentified persons robbed O. Sergeyeva. She was sitting in a Zhiguli waiting for her colleagues to pick up the car and take R73,000 to pay a vocal and instrumental group. Interestingly, the Zhiguli's tires had been punctured. Obviously the criminals had done this specially.

There is information, which we find particularly deplorable, on the bribing of police officers. Two workers at a procurement center in Kirghizia stole 11 sacks of corn. The Tokmak prosecutor's office arrested police Lieutenants A. and K., officers of the city's Internal Affairs

Department's Department for Combating the Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation, on suspicion of having accepted bribes totaling R1,800 from them. Similar information is also recorded here and then resolute measures are adopted as a result of it. All violations of socialist legality committed by internal affairs organs' personnel come under the scrutiny of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry duty section.

Finally, two more crime reports. On the night of 8 January, around 0100, windows of the Rozhino-Leningrad 6158 electric train were smashed as it was passing through Pesochnaya Station on the Oktyabrskaya Line. A dozen youths from local settlements have been detained in connection with the incident and criminal proceedings have been instituted. A similar incident was recorded in Krasnoyarsk. But the matter took quite a different turn. The prosecutor's office of the city's Oktyabrskiy Rayon has taken criminal action against police sergeant G. Tsyrgiya, who is suspected of illegally detaining and beating up four boys aged between 11 and 12 for throwing stones at passing vehicles.

Gorbachev Addresses Moscow Gorkom; Bureau Elected
PM0302105189 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 22 Jan 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Plenum of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom"]

[Text] The Moscow CPSU Gorkom elected by the 27th conference of the capital's party organization held an organizational plenum yesterday.

The plenum was opened by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Having congratulated the party gorkom members on their election to the leadership organ of the capital's party organization, he expressed the hope that they would justify Communists' trust by specific accomplishments along the path of restructuring and would seek real changes for the better in Muscovites' life.

L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, was elected first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom and member of its bureau by the plenum. Yu.A. Prokofyev was elected second secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom and member of its bureau. N.M. Andreyanova, V.K. Belyaninov, Yu.S. Karabasov, and V.I. Kuznetsov were elected secretaries and members of the bureau.

The following were elected members of the party gorkom bureau: G.A. Bokareva, sewing machine operator at the C. Zetkin experimental technical factory; A.M. Bryachikhin, first secretary of the Sevastopolskiy party raykom; V.B. Nosov, general director of the "GPZ-1" production association; V.S. Pudov, fitter at the "Znamya Revolyutsii" machine building Plant; V.T. Saykin, chairman of the Moscow Gorispolkom; N.Ye. Chelnokov, chief of the USSR KGB Administration for Moscow and Moscow Oblast; and V.P. Shcherbakov, chairman of the Moscow City Trade Union Council.

The following were elected candidate members of the party gorkom bureau by the plenum: P.Ye. Dikarev, chairman of the Moscow City People's Control Committee; I.I. Melnikov, secretary of the M.V. Lomonosov Moscow State University party committee; A.Ya. Nemtinov, chief of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom Organizational-Party and Cadre Work Department; and S.A. Smirnov, first secretary of the Moscow Komsomol Gorkom.

The plenum appointed the following chiefs of Moscow CPSU Gorkom departments: A.Ya. Nemtinov of the Organizational-Party and Cadre Work Department; P.P. Khilkevich of the Ideological Department; V.A. Korovin of the Socioeconomic Department; V.F. Chernyshov of the State and Law Department; Yu.F. Dudnik of the International Department; V.A. Martin of the General Department; and V.I. Zhdanov of a Moscow party gorkom department.

The following newspaper editors were appointed: V.P. Lysenko of MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA and A.I. Lisin of VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA.

The conference constituted the following party gorkom commissions: For Party Building and Improvement of Cadre Work (Chairman Yu.A. Prokofyev); Ideological (Chairman Yu.S. Karabasov, Deputy Chairman N.M. Andreyanova); for Socioeconomic Questions (Chairman V.K. Belyaninov, Deputy Chairman V.I. Kuznetsov).

G.P. Razumovskiy, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, took part in the plenum's work.

The Control and Auditing Commission of the Moscow City party organization which was elected by the 27th conference of capital's party organization held a plenum. T.P. Arkhipova was elected chairman of the Control and Auditing Commission.

Andrey Sakharov Outlines Election Platform
PM0702155289 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 6, 5 Feb 89 pp 8-9

[Interview with Academician Andrey Sakharov by Gennadiy Zhavoronkov: "For Peace And Progress"; date, place not given]

[Text] Academician Andrey Sakharov has been nominated as a candidate for the people's deputies in the Moscow City National-Territorial Precinct.

Our reporter Gennadiy Zhavoronkov interviewed him.

Q.: People at large see the life of a nuclear physicist as romantic, secret and secluded. When did you start your public activities?

A.: My public activities started more than 30 years ago. I was fortunate to have taken part in the conclusion of the Moscow treaty banning nuclear tests on land, at sea, and in the atmosphere. The views reflected in my electoral programme took shape over many years and were openly published starting in 1969. At the time my views clashed with the official position and this resulted in the 70s and 80s in the persecution of myself and my family.

Q.: Could you describe briefly the objectives of your election programme?

A.: The objective of my programme is to deepen and further perestroyka, democratization, pluralism, the building of a law-abiding state, social and national justice, an efficient and ecologically safe economy, peace and progress. Hesitation and controversy in carrying out a political, economic and national constitutional perestroyka should not be allowed to lead the country deeper into crisis.

Q.: Which points in your programme reflect your latest conclusions?

A.: I formed some of my conclusions long ago. Some were formulated in my book "My Country and the World". But what is happening today has led me to make the following important changes in my programme.

1. The scrapping of the administrative-command system to be replaced by a pluralistic system based on competition and the market. The ministries and other government agencies should be stripped of their monopoly power. There must be more independence for state-run enterprises. We must allow free market for labour, the means of production, raw materials and intermediate products. We must expand production based on leasing, cooperatives and joint-stock capital. Inefficient collective and state farms must be dissolved immediately and their land leased on favourable terms, as well as the buildings and equipment. It is our duty to feed the country. In addition, non-profitable industries should be either leased out or sold to shareholders. Large enterprises should be broken up into smaller units in order to encourage competition and to eliminate monopoly pricing. Independent commissions of ecologists and economists should be set up to evaluate major projects and plans for national development. We must abandon the extensive development of the national economy, stop the needless processing of raw materials and the growth of industrial production which doesn't result in higher quality. There must be sharp reduction in industrial capital construction. There must be an immediate stop of financing the Ministry of Water Conservation (either disband it or make it pay its own way). Nuclear power engineering is essential to mankind, but it must be made safe (account should be taken of the danger of earthquakes, terrorism and conventional war). No construction of nuclear power or thermal power stations should be allowed whose reactors are above ground level; they should be built underground so as to prevent radioactive fallout in the ecology should cease. Public ecological groups should be legalized and encouraged. All data on the ecological situation throughout the country should be made public. All hydroelectric and other construction projects that endanger the ecology must be halted. Each person should be paid according to his work. All restrictions on the size of one's earning should be removed and a progressive tax instituted. All privileges unrelated to the performance of one's duty must be eliminated. The size of salaries of officials should be published. All public foundations should publish annual financial accounts, including the pay scale, expense accounts, and travel expenses. All public organizations should cut their staffs to the minimum. A realistic exchange rate for the rouble should be established before making the rouble convertible.

2. Social and national justice. The protection of the rights of the individual. Openness of society. Freedom of political beliefs. Freedom of choice of one's country of residence and place of residence inside that country. Freedom of association and freedom to demonstration. Public control over important decision making. The revision of the law on elections and the 1988 amendments to the Constitution. Direct elections of the Supreme Soviet deputies and its President. A democratic system of nomination of candidates and their registration without interference from the apparatus and the screening opf candidates. Everyone should have only one vote, and at least two candidates should run for each seat. There should be a return to Lenin's concept of the USSR as a union of equal states. There should be no restrictions of smaller nations by bigger nations. Small national regions should enjoy the rights of union republics. The absence of foreign borders should not be a pretext for restricting their rights. We should establish a federative system based on agreements between member states. Support the principles which form the base of the programme of the national fronts of the Baltic Republics. There should be cost accounting for each republic and region. We must adopt a law for the press based on freedom from ideological control and all forms of restriction, while banning propaganda advocating war, violence, national strife, pornography and the divulging of state secrets. There must be fewer secrets in an open society. Private and cooperative ventures should be allowed to run information services abiding by the above bans.

The residence passport system should be passed out. Pensions and other fixed incomes must be adjusted in line with the rate of inflation based on 1960 prices. NO price increases on food and essential goods should be made without a thorough analysis of the possible consequences. Unnecessary offices could be converted to

housing and all forms of housing construction encouraged. There should be more funds for public education and medical care. Changes in legislation and the social structure to ease the position of working mothers should be made, as well as monetary incentives to women who stay at home to care for preschool children.

3. The eradication of the consequences of Stalinism. The archives of the NKVD-MGB must be opened and all information concerning the crimes of Stalinism and all unjustified repressions be published. We must establish commissions of the Supreme Soviet to monitor the activities of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the KGB and the Ministry of Defence. The opportunity to appeal to court decisions and actions of individual officials and government and party organs must be provided for. There should be a right to trial by jury, and a lawyer be made available at the start of an investigation. Sentences should be rescinded if there are violations of legal procedures or illegal investigation methods, and the violators punished. We must humanize prisons and abolish the death sentence. We must free and rehabilitate prisoners of conscience, including members of the Karabakh Committee and the Krunk.

4. The reorganization of science. There should be a much greater role for scientists teaching in higher schools, broader international contacts for Soviet scientists, especially young scientists and those in the provinces who were rarely included in this process in the past. We must undertake the financing of and material support for scientific research projects put forward by initiative groups. The role of the Academy of Sciences in basic research and its responsibility for the results of ecological and economic investigations must be enhanced.

5. Support for the policy of disarmament and the solution of regional conflicts. Data on the USSR's policy and actions in regional conflicts (including Afghanistan and the Middle East) should be published. The length of armed service and the Army personnel should be cut in half, and all forms of weapons cut proportionally. The number of officers should be cut with an eye to a gradual transition to a professional Army. Chemical and bacteriological weapons should be banned and nuclear weapons be deployed only defensively. We should switch over completely to a defensive military strategy doctrine.

6. Convergence of the socialist and capitalist systems recognizing the need for decentralized decision making in the economy, social sphere, culture and ideology. This is the only way to completely eliminate the threat of the destruction of humanity in the event of a nuclear or ecological disaster.

Q. "MOSCOW NEWS" wishes you success in your electoral campaign.

A. Thank you.

Azerbaijan, Armenia Militia Dismissed, Tried

PM0702192589 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 8 Feb 89 p 4

[Ye. Borisova report: "Investigation Continues"]

[Text] The Azerbaijani and Armenian internal affairs ministers addressed journalists at a briefing yesterday at the USSR MVD.

After analyzing the militia's actions during the mass disturbances in Nagorno-Karabakh, they noted: Not all internal affairs officials acted correctly in this complex situation. As a result, many have been expelled from the party and removed from their posts.

An investigation is under way into crimes perpetrated against the background of the interethnic conflicts. In particular, over 700 actions have been instituted in Azerbaijan; 81 have been investigated and brought to court.

Armenian-Azerbaijani Moves To Curb Migration

PM0802095189 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 25 Jan 89 p 2

[Unattributed report: "In the Armenian SSR Prosecutor's Office"]

[Excerpts] A conference of leaders of the Armenian SSR and Azerbaijan SSR Prosecutor's Offices was held in the republic Prosecutor's Office. Armenian SSR Prosecutor V. Nazaryan; Azerbaijan SSR Prosecutor I. Ismailov; USSR Assistant General Prosecutor V. Titov; and collegium members and senior officials from the two republics' prosecutor's offices participated. [passage omitted]

The conference adopted a decision to set up a coordinating council comprising representatives of the Armenian SSR and Azerbaijan SSR Prosecutor's Offices, with leadership of the council being assigned to the republic prosecutors.

The coordinating council was instructed to prepare and approve by 1 February 1989 organizational measures for the consolidation of legality and of law and order in the republics, the protection of citizens' constitutional rights and freedoms, the conduct of effective struggle against crime and other offenses on the ground of interethnic relations, and the eradication of criminal actions by extremist and corrupt groups. It is planned to hold visiting sessions of the coordinating council in rayons and cities with mixed populations, involving representatives of party and soviet organs, public organizations, and labor collectives.

Efforts by prosecutor's offices in both republics will be aimed at putting an end to migration processes and ensuring the return of refugees to their places of permanent residence. Most resolute measures will be applied against people allowing and condoning the eviction and

departure of people on ethnic grounds, and especially any illegal dismissals from work. Every such instance will be subject to strict political and legal appraisal. The question of culprits' personal responsibility will be pursued right up to release from the office they hold and, whenever prescribed by law, institution of criminal proceedings.

It was decided to propose to the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee that joint commissions be set up for the return of migrants to their places of permanent residence, to be made up of party gorkom and raykom first secretaries, rayispolkom and gorispolkom chairmen, leaders of local law enforcement organs, and representatives of trade union, Komsomol, and other public organizations and of labor collectives.

Official on Shutting Down Armenian AES

LD0702184689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1235 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow, 7 Feb (TASS)—"At the planned time, on 25 February, not a day later or an hour earlier, we shall shut down the first set of the Armenian AES," Erik Pozdyshev, head of the USSR Ministry of Atomic Power's Main Control Board, said in a talk with TASS correspondent Rena Kuznetsova.

A special commission, which decided on the spot how best to carry out this responsible operation has just left Armenia. In particular, the question of unloading radioactive fuel, its transportation, and further processing was discussed.

According to expert calculations, shutting down the set, which is being carried out according to a Soviet Government resolution adopted in January this year, will not have a substantial effect on the region's power supply yet. "To a considerable degree," Erik Pozdyshev explained, "the situation has been saved by the unusually warm winter, which has made it possible to save a large amount of energy resources."

The Soviet expert stressed that Armenian AES is continuing to work stably. But when the sets are shut down it will cease its existence as an atomic station for ever. It will be impossible to restore it in that capacity. Erik Pozdyshev thinks it would be inappropriate to reconstruct it as a thermal one power station.

Undoubtedly it is difficult for power engineers to say goodbye to their brainchild. But after the tragic earthquake in Armenia it would be impermissible to subject the long-suffering people of the republic to even the slightest risk. The second will be shut down after the first one. That will take place on 18 March.

Armenian Earthquake Commission 7 Feb Session

PM0802114389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Feb 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report on the 7 February session of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Armenian Earthquake Commission chaired by L.A. Voronin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; "Providing People With Better Information. In the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] There remain just over 2 weeks before the complete shut-down of the first generating set at the Armenian Atomic Power Station, and subsequently of the entire station, as envisaged by a resolution of the USSR Council of Ministers. The resolution was adopted in January taking account of the general post-earthquake seismic situation in the republic. This government decision met with the Armenian public's approval and was widely commented upon by the mass media.

However, that selfsame public, the labor collectives, and the republic's entire population have been much less well-informed about the coming difficulties with the supply of electricity and about the measures needed to conserve it. This came in for sharp criticism at the latest working session of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission that was held 7 February by L.A. Voronin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. The republic does not yet have a clear plan for industrial enterprises and organizations to go over to a continuous working week with staggering of off-days and the start and finish of work shifts, or for the consumption of electricity on municipal and domestic needs to be restricted.

The commission criticized the slow course of work on increasing the capacity of the Razdan thermal power station, and also that on research on the reorientation of the Armenian AES which has come about through the fault of the USSR Power and Electrification Ministry and the Armglavenergo directorate.

With the aim of helping the republic to overcome a difficult period in its power supplies, the commission examined proposals to supply a greater quantity of natural gas than previously envisaged. Furthermore, the shortfall in electric power which will be evident after the Armenian AES stops will be shared out between all the Transcaucasian republics. It has been proposed that the Armenian SSR ministries and departments should start an effective competition to save electricity, being generous both in rewarding the careful and in fining squanderers.

The importance of providing electricity to building sites in the disaster zone and to enterprises extracting sand, crushed stone, tuff, and other local building materials was particularly stressed.

The commission looked in detail at the course of eliminating the consequences of the earthquake in Stepanavan and the Stepanavanskiy Rayon. The latest seismological research has confirmed the unsuitability of the present territory of the town for the construction of houses with many apartments. Therefore, the new areas of Stepanavan will be built in a new place. A site for them has already been selected, but as everywhere else, the start of construction is being held up by a lack of clear-cut cooperation between the building organizations which have arrived in Stepanavan and Armenian Gosstroy.

Criticism was addressed to the republic's Gosstroy for shortcomings in the matter of coordinating and managing the construction forces in various towns that suffered from the disaster.

After examining the Stepanavan town Executive Gorispolkom's work on bringing the town's life back to normal, the commission pointed out its feeble organizational activity among the population, its lack of initiative in solving urgent problems, and its insufficient glasnost in adopting decisions. Many people would already like to start building individual houses, but they cannot get information anywhere about when the sale of building materials is to start in Stepanavan, where one can order a house plan, or who is to apportion building plots. The commission sketched out clear time limits for removing these shortcomings.

Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Communist Party of Armenia Central Committee took part in the session.

Arutunyan, Voronin Visit Armenian Quake Site

NC0802100489 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1830 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] Members of the CPSU Central Committee Commission for eliminating the consequences of the earthquake; Suren Arutunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee; and Lev Voronin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, visited Stepanavan.

During their visit, the officials met the inhabitants, planners, builders, and specialists who have come from fraternal republics to render assistance. They also acquainted themselves with questions that disturb the people, the effort that aims to eliminate the consequences of the quake, and the preliminary reconstruction work.

Because it is located within the disaster zone, Stepanavan did not lightly escape from the strong earth tremors. Virtually all the social service establishments, such as education and health institutes, and transportation have been rendered unsafe. Some 80 percent of the state and private housing capacities have been rendered uninhabitable. It is necessary to reconstruct and build more than 400,000 square meters of housing and sociocultural institutes within 2 years.

The construction of new settlements is envisaged on the opposite bank of the valley which is covered by thick basalt ground. The old and new settlements will be connected by a bridge being built over the deep gorge. A new settlement will also be established at the present location of the city where an oversall 20,000 square meters of housing projects are to be built during this year. In addition, economic and social institutes and a hospital unit will also be constructed.

The members of the commission also visited (Kirovo) Village in the Stepanavan region, where comfortable wooden houses are being erected for the villagers by rural construction teams from the Bashkir and Udmurt ASSR's.

President Bush's Son Sends Letter to Arutunyan

NC0702110089 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Text] U.S. President Bush's son, John, who had been in Armenia after the disaster, has sent a letter to the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and to Suren Arutunyan, first secretary of the Central Committee.

Dear Mr Arutunyan,

I was very satisfied with our meeting during my recent stay in Armenia. I have highly appraised the hospitality shown to George [John's son] and to me in particular under the conditions that Armenia (?found itself).

Mr Arutunyan, we wish you enormous success in the reconstruction work, and we assure you that Americans will continue to provide the necessary assistance to the people of Armenia.

Permit me to thank you once again for the kind reception.

Correspondent Visits NKAO Military Checkpoint

PM0202132789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Feb 89 First Edition p 4

[Lieutenant Colonel N. Belan dispatch: "Highway Patrol. Our Special Correspondent Reports From Stepanakert"]

[Excerpts] "It's time," Sergeant Sh. Shaimov said, glancing at his watch, and "time" meant that the curfew was in force.

It was 0100 hours local time, midnight in Moscow.

The river ran a few meters away from us, its steep rocky banks joined by a bridge. Beyond it, clinging to the hillside, lay Stepanakert—silent and surrounded by equally silent snow-covered mountains. Deserted streets, house windows without a sign of life... Two highways converge at the bridge and one of them, the main one, leads to the rayon center city of Shusha. A checkpoint manned by Internal Troops and Motorized Infantry soldiers is located there at the junction of the highways.

Sgt Sh. Shaimov was the senior officer on duty and at that point, after glancing at his watch, he made his way to the bridge with Private R. Rakhmanov and brought down the barrier. An infantry combat vehicle was parked next to it. And that was all—from that moment until 0500 hours the next morning, movement in and out of the city is allowed only subject to special passes, and mandatory inspection of vehicles.

"The curfew now lasts just over half as long as it used to," Shaimov explained. "Back in September, when it was first introduced, it lasted from 2100 hours until 0600 hours the next morning. This means that the situation is returning to normal."

Nevertheless, I wanted to find out: How do people react to these restrictions? After all, vehicles are inspected and the documents of drivers and passengers are checked even during the day. True enough, this is done selectively, in contrast with the curfew procedures.

"They react normally, and they show understanding," I heard in reply. "Not everyone, of course, but this measure has been forced upon us and the majority realize this."

"We are guaranteeing order for them," Rakhmanov explained.

An important remark, and that was not the first time I had heard it—and not just from people in uniform. During the days I spent in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] I talked with workers and kolkhoz members, Azerbaijanis and Armenians, local residents and new settlers. Their opinion was the same as that voiced by the soldier.

I saw a memorable meeting at the Karabakh silk combine, one of the oblast's largest enterprises. It was memorable because of the heated passions in the hall, the sharp response to what was said by the speakers (the collective was being visited by V. Sidorov and Internal Troops Major General S. Kupreyev, members of the oblast Special Administration Committee), and the prominently displayed banner: "We Want the NKAO's Reunification With Armenia!" The conversation proved difficult, but when it was said that the soldiers were honestly and fairly doing their work to ensure order, the hall silently agreed. Not a single reproach, not a word of complaint or insult.

Almost every day I attended conferences held by Major General A. Kolomiytsev, commandant of the Special District. Here are just a few entries from my notebook: "23 January—19 weapons confiscated; 28 January—7 weapons; 29 January—2 weapons." The total confiscated since the introduction of the special situation runs to almost 3,500 hunting shotguns, dozens of knives, bottles containing incendiary mixtures, homemade grenades, pistols, and quite a few explosive devices, fuses, and detonators.

All this automatically came to my mind at the checkpoint on the Karkar River. It is just one of dozens of checkpoints set up in the Special District. It is, however, of paramount importance. This was precisely how Maj Gen Kolomiytsev described it. [passage omitted]

Soldiers always think primarily of the motherland. Multinational and united, rather than broken down into tiny national fragments. They believe: You are defenders of all and of the fatherland as a whole, of its each and every corner.

This is what we discussed at the checkpoint with Privates Yu. Nemirovskiy, A. Shcherbina, and A. Dyatlov from the Internal Troops and the Army.

It was my second visit there. I had gone to the checkpoint during the day, when others were on duty. A group of nine Internal Troops men headed by Junior Sergeant S. Khomenko and five Motorized Infantry soldiers under Senior Sergeant S. Imamov's command. There were Russians, Ukrainians, Uzbeks, Tajiks, and an Estonian among them.

While in Karabakh, I heard it said: It is good that multinational military subunits have come here—had they represented just one or two nations, there could have been different, unpleasant connotations, as though these subunits had been specially formed. I told this to the soldiers at the checkpoint—and they smiled.

"But this is, after all, the Army's normal composition—multinational, beginning at section and squad level," Sr Sgt Sadulo Imamov, a Tajik, replied.

This is how soldiers think and reason. They prove themselves internationalists in action.

Colonel A. Naumenko, chief of the Special District's Political Department, cited the following example in a conversation with me. A Motorized Infantry subunit one-third of whose soldiers were Azerbaijani and one-third Armenian was brought to the city of Martuni to help the Internal Troops and militia. They did their duty for 3 months and the local population did not make a single complaint about them.

...Time really flies when you are talking. My interlocutors came to the end of their shift, their comrades were getting ready to take over the checkpoint, and I must admit I felt somewhat disappointed: I did not see a single violator during the shift.

It was only later, on my way back to the unit through the sleeping city, that I realized how remarkable it was that there had been no violations and everything had been quiet. There was a glimmer of hope: This might be the time to report the first quiet night in the Special District. I wanted very much to send such a report. Hopefully, I even started to mentally draft the lines I so much wanted to write, without knowing that Col Naumenko would report the next morning: Two knives, 21 shotgun cartridges, and alcoholic beverages were confiscated from Citizens A. Ayrapetyan and Kh. Maylyan when their vehicle was inspected in Shusha, on the highway to the city of Lachin. Both detainees were drunk. Senior Lieutenant A. Rubin and Privates Ts. Sabirov and A. Khashimov distinguished themselves in the detention action. A total of 97 people were detained during the past 24 hours for breaches of the special situation regime.... I just sighed: I obviously would have no chance of filing this report....

I looked at the sleeping city through the car windows. I kept looking around me—the river, the checkpoint at the bridge, the soldiers' silhouettes. There is much to be seen from this checkpoint, which is, on the whole, as ordinary as dozens of others in the Special District.

Tremors Continue in Tajik Earthquake Zone

LD0802141789 Moscow TASS in English 1359 GMT 8 Feb 89

[By TASS correspondent Oleg Sobolev]

[Text] Dushanbe February 8 TASS—Underground tremors are continuing in the zone of the destructive earthquake that rocked the Gissar region of Tajikistan on January 23.

The seismic station Dushanbe recorded a new earthquake at 23 hours 48 minutes Moscow time on Tuesday with an epicenter 25 kilometres south-west of Tajikistan. The tremor registered five on the Soviet 12-point scale. In Sharora Village the earthquake measured up to 4-5, in the Gissar regional centre—3-4, and in Dushanbe—2.3. The tremor recurred at 9:22 on Wednesday. This time it was centred 20 kilometres south-east of Dushanbe where the ground motion measured 3-4.

"Ground motions are continuing in the Ilyakskiy fracture zone. The southern edge of the fracture is shifting westward in relations to the northern edge", Sabit Negmatullayev, president of the Tajik Academy of Sciences, told TASS. "A discharge in the form of an earthquake measuring 7.0 took place on January 23. However, residual tension in the Earth's crust appeared to be sufficiently strong and is the cause of weaker repeated tremors. The Ilyakskiy fracture can trigger new mud slides in the Gissar region although not so large as the one which smothered Sharora Village on January 23".

Latvian Procurator on Revoking Front Charter

LD0802142989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Moscow Radio correspondent Anatoliy Fedorov interview of Yanis Eduardovich Dzenitis, Latvian procurator]

[Text] An expanded collegium session took place at the USSR Procuracy today. The session examined the implementation of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference decisions and the main guidelines for the Procuracy's work to restructure the prosecutor's supervisory powers in conditions of forming a socialist law-governed state. Anatoliy Fedorov, our correspondent, has invited Yanis Eduardovich Dzenitis, Latvia's procurator to the microphone.

[Begin recording] [Fedorov] Yanis Eduardovich, the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference regarded it as a task of historical importance to affirm and develop creatively the Leninist norms and principles of the nationalities policy which combine the satisfaction of all nations and ethnic groups' interests with the country's general interests and requirements. Unfortunately, here and there you hear views like: Latvia only for the Latvians. What is your view of the state of affairs in the Republic?

[Dzenitis] The Latvian Procuracy, just as other union procuracy bodies, is carrying out a great deal of work to strengthen the rule of law—law and order—and to expand democracy and glasnost. It must, however, be said that it is not as simple as it at first seemed to us to work in the conditions of glasnost and of expanding democracy.

A major process expanding democracy is, of course, underway in Latvia. Various organizations, as you have said, are being set up. It is, of course, impossible to give some sort of unequivocal answer to the effect that all of these organizations are of a nationalist nature. There is much that is positive in these organizations' work, the activities of which are indeed directed at more successfully implementing the trust of restructuring and tackling the painful and urgent problems which had earlier been passed over in silence in Latvia.

There also exist such individual organizations as Helsinki-86, the Latvian National Independence Movement, and some others. Hiding behind slogans in favor of restructuring and democratization, they are essentially carrying out other policies altogether, disseminating hostile slogans, and demanding that Latvia should be a separate state. In the final analysis, they pursue the goal of Latvia leaving the Soviet Union.

The Procuracy is taking measures provided for in the law; that is to say it is supervising the observance of laws pertaining to relations between nationalities, making sure that the activities of these organizations do not run counter to the USSR and Latvian SSR Constitutions. If such activities do take place, we must confront the problem of making the documents that regulate the activities of these organizations—of making their charters—comply with the laws in force.

[Fedorov] As far as I know, you protested [oprotestovat] the charter and program of the Democratic [as heard] Front.

[Dzenitis] No, I lodged a protest against the decision of the Justice Ministry's interdepartmental commission, in accordance with which the charter of Latvia's Popular Front was registered. What prompted my protest? It is not a protest against the Popular Front as such. My view is that my protest was legitimate, since numerous clauses run counter to the laws currently in force, the USSR Constitution, and the Latvian SSR Constitution. It is my view that my protest has been complied with, maybe not in full, but it has, nevertheless, been complied with: namely, the Latvian Supreme Soviet Presidium revoked the decision of the Republican Council of Ministers which set up this interdepartmental commission. It abolished the interdepartmental commission and rescinded all decisions of the interdepartmental commission, including the decision to register the charter of the Popular Front.

One more issue remains: Certain provisions of the Popular Front charter must be brought into line with laws currently in force. Here I want to note yet another aspect: that, in general, it is union laws that ought to govern the activities of these informal relations [as heard]. This is because this lies within the competence of the union.

We expect that after the new USSR Supreme Soviet is elected, one of the tasks to be tackled will be to elaborate a law concerning the activities or halting of activities of various public organizations. When such laws have been passed, it will then be necessary for Latvia's Popular Front to register its charter in accordance with the requirements of such laws, that is obvious. [end recording]

Estonian Compensation Scheme Announced

LD0302142789 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1700 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] About the problems which directly or indirectly concern us all in Estonia, the working group of the Council of Ministers which deals with citizens' rehabilitation announced the following:

[Unidentified correspondent] As is known, all citizens who suffered through out-of-court mass repressions were rehabilitated. In this connection [?a meeting] of the working group took place in Toompea, Tallinn, under the chairmanship of Ain Soidla, first deputy chairman of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers. The compensation procedure was discussed for those who suffered damage through out-of-court mass repressions. In addition to the members of the working group, jurists of Tartu State University and the Estonian SSR Suspreme Court participated.

The working group believes that all those who, in the '40's and '50's, were deported from the Estonian SSR—suffered through mass repressions and who were rehabilitated—have the right to regain their property, which was taken from them in connection with deportation [words indistinct]. Property will be returned in kind. If this turns out be be impossible, it will be paid for. If this, too, is impossible—for example, in a case where it cannot be ascertained if property of this kind was left behind and how much of it there was—compensation will be made.

The time spent at detention places and in exile will be counted as general, continuous, and specialized work experience for those who suffered. The time spent in the far north region and in the areas which are equated to those places, will, however, be included in the work experience period, which gives one the right to obtain a pension in a preferential way. To those of the rehabilitated who do not receive a pension, a monthly state supplement will be allocated.

The Estonian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs will notify those who suffered through mass repressions of their rehabilitation.

Ukrainian Politburo Sums Up 1988 Results

AU0702131489 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 2 Feb 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] At its recent regular session, the Politburo summed up the results of the work carried out by the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee in 1988. It was noted that last year was, both for the republic's party organization and for the entire party, a year of intensive practical work in implementing the decisions of the 27th party congress and the 19th all-union party conference, to deepen restructuring, to find new attitudes in solving immediate problems, and to mobilize internal reserves and potentials for attaining real results in all sectors of economic and cultural construction.

The main focus was on restructuring the style and methods of leadership, on promoting the efficiency of basic party organizations, as well as the social and political activity and initiative of the Communists, on

the democratization of internal party life, on the patriotic and internationalist education of the working people, on the perfection of interethnic relations, on the development of glasnost, on the intensification of the struggle against bureaucratism, social injustice, and the violations of socialist legality, and on the acceleration of socioeconomic development on the basis of applying new management methods. Measures were also taken to improve the ecological situation.

The Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat thoroughly and critically scrutinized the situation in the national economy and the social sphere, and practically assisted party committees, administrative and economic organs in restructuring their work.

At the same time it was noted that, in view of the many restructuring processes, of problems and difficulties emerging particularly in connection with the radical economic and political reform that has been launched, it was essential to make a deeper analysis, to take into account all factors, to assume a creative attitude, to pay more attention to the application of experience, and to take effective measures to eliminate shortcomings.

The session examined the progress made in implementing the comprehensive program for the social reorganization of villages in the Ukrainian SSR in the 12th 5-Year Period and the period up to the year 2000. The Central Committee called the attention of Communist leaders in the Ukrainian SSR Gosplan and state agro-industrial committee, in the Ukrainian SSR Ministries of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, of Trade, and of Consumer Services, and in the Ukrainian Union of Consumer Societies to the unsatisfactory results achieved in implementing the comprehensive program for the social reorganization of the republic's villages.

The Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers has been instructed to tighten control over the implementation of this program, to increase the responsibility of ministries, departments, and the local soviets of people's deputies for a comprehensive settlement of social problems in the countryside, and to make particular efforts to expand the amount of housing construction, as well as the networks of gas and water pipelines, and of paved roads.

The session listened to a report delivered by Comrade K.I. Masik, Kiev Gorkom first secretary, on the progress made in implementing the CPSU Central Committee decision "on the work carried out by Kiev City party organization to implement the 27th CPSU Congress decision" and the decisions of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee on this issue. The gorkom, the city party organization's auditing commission, and Kiev Gorispolkom have been instructed to intensify their work to implement the CPSU Central Committee decision and the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo commissions. Particular efforts are to be made to develop the production base of the construction complex, to reconstruct light and food industry enterprises and to increase their capacities, to step up the output of consumer goods at the enterprises of all branches, and to eliminate the significant lag incurred by cultural institutions and consumer services to the population in developing their material base. The instruction has been given to raise the level of the ideological and political education of the working people, including the younger generation, to improve leadership in the mass media, and to concentrate the activity of party raykoms, the city Komsomol committee, and ideological institutions and organizations on ensuring a sound ideological situation in the republic's capital city.

Central Committee departments have been commissioned to give the party gorkom and raykoms constant and concrete assistance in adopting political methods of leadership, and in increasing the efficiency of all party links, and primarily of basic party organizations.

The decision was adopted to work out a republic-level program for developing historical research, and for an improvement in the study and propaganda of the history of the Ukrainian SSR. The decision will be published in the press.

The session examined the ways to organize the work to implement the CPSU Central Committee decision "on the additional measures to restore justice with regard to the victims of the repressions that took place in the thirties, forties, and early fifties." The decision adopted by the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee on this issue will also be published.

While taking into account the numerous requests of the working people, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and Council of Ministers have reviewed and abolished a number of decisions adopted earlier to perpetuate the memory of A.A. Zhdanov.

The session also examined some problems concerning the participation of the Ukrainian SSR in foreign political activity.

Ukraine Steps To 'Foster Socialist Legality'

AU0402170189 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA in Ukrainian 28 Jan 89 p 3

[Unattributed report: "In the Public Law Department of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] The Public Law Department of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, with the participation of the republic's law enforcing organs, examined the progress made in 1988 in implementing party and government decisions on the further consolidation of socialist legality, law, and order.

It was noted that, in line with the directives of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th all-union party conference, consistent steps had been taken in the republic to provide legal guarantees for restructuring and to intensify

the struggle against offenses and other negative phenomena. The organizational and political work carried out by party committees, and the efforts made by law enforcing organs, labor collectives, and public organizations to improve the situation in the field have contributed toward strengthening socialist legality, law, and order.

At the same time, the work undertaken is still not effective enough. The number of offenses and crimes committed in the republic is still significant. In a number of oblasts, theft of state, public, and private property, as well as cruel acts of violence are on the increase, and criminality in the streets and other public places is multiplying.

Deep concern was expressed over the growing criminality among teenagers, particularly in Zaporozhye, Kirovograd, Rovno, Chernovtsy, and Transcarpathian Oblasts. An analysis of this problem has revealed a number of serious shortcomings and omissions in the ideological, moral, and legal education of young people and teenagers. Collectives of teachers and Komsomol and other public organizations have been inadequately engaged in efforts to prevent offenses among teenagers.

At the conference it was emphasized that law enforcing organs still did not clearly coordinate their activities, did always concentrate their efforts on the worst sectors, and inadequately relied on the assistance of the working people and the public.

It was noted in particular that the republic's procuratorship organs did not make full use of the commissions obtained to verify more closely the compliance with and application of the law, to tighten discipline, to foster good organization and order, to enhance the principles of social justice, and to see to it that the rights and lawful interests of citizens are protected in a reliable way. The level of procurators' verification of the observance of the law in economic relations is below the present requirements.

Internal affairs organs are slow in restructuring their activity. In their work, they are frequently insufficiently flexible, enterprising, efficient, or capable of operating under conditions of democracy and glasnost. Cases of individual militiamen themselves violating socialist legality and encroaching upon the rights of citizens still have not been fully eradicated.

In Dnepropetrovsk, Voroshilovgrad, Kirovograd, Kherson, Sumy, Ternopol, and other oblasts, there were serious errors in detecting the crimes committed.

The republic's courts have failed to completely eliminate red tape, as well as sentences and decisions passed without legal grounds. The level of refinement of court trials is rising too slowly. Not everything has been done to increase the role of counselling in juridical assistance to the population, enterprises, and cooperative societies.

The impact of state arbitration on strengthening plan and contract discipline in the national economy and on legality in economic relations is still inadequate.

Serious improvements are needed in the work carried out to organize universal legal education, to intensify the legal training of the working people, to enable them to see unity between rights and obligations, to cultivate civil virtues and respect for the Soviet law.

During the discussion on all these problems and on the ways to settle them, the speakers kept in the foreground the improvements in work among the cadres of law enforcing organs and in providing cadres for legal reforms.

Much attention was also paid to ways to improve the activity of party organizations within law enforcing organs and political organs of internal affairs. It was noted that some of these organizations had had insufficient influence on restructuring the work of the apparatus, and were not always adequately persistent in the endeavors to ensure that all Communists and staff members implement party and government directives.

In line with the conclusions drawn from the analyzed situation, concrete steps were drawn up to further improve the work carried out by the organs of procuratorship, internal affairs, justice, the state arbitration, and courts in implementing the decisions adopted by the CPSU and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committees to foster socialist legality, law and order.

Radio Liberty 'Misinformation' Noted in Ukraine

LD0502055289 Moscow TASS in English 0543 GMT 5 Feb 89

[Text] Odessa February 5 TASS—The newspaper CHERNOMORSKA KOMUNA, which appears here in the Ukrainian language, writes about the dubious sources of information about the Soviet Union the radio station Liberty uses in its broadcasts. In an article published on Saturday the newspaper gives the lie to Liberty's contentions about the authorities' persecution of the "advocates of the Ukrainian people's rights" and tells about those Odessa sources, from which this misinformation is picked up.

The newspaper reports that the 46-year-old Vasiliy Barladyanu, who lives in Odessa, was provided as soon as he graduated from Odessa University an opportunity to work on probation abroad, to engage in teaching, in popularizing the Ukrainian history and culture on which he was keen, and to work on dissertation.

Being obsessed, however, with nationalist prejudices, he began systematically to profess and kindle national enmity, using also foreign publications to this end. Barladyanu was convicted for his unlawful activities for three years of the deprivation of freedom.

At present, Barladyanu and several other people of his ilk, abusing the atmosphere of openness which is being asserted in the Soviet society's life, and using the slogans of the struggle against the stagnant phenomena of the past as a cover up, try to discredit perestroyka, provoke conflict situations and, in so doing, have recourse to lie and fabrications supplied by the radio station Liberty.

In portraying the moral image of these persons, the Ukrainian newspaper points out that upon his return to Odessa from the place of detention Barladyanu backs away from work, passing himself as a member of unofficial nationalist publications' editorial boards. His accomplice Oleg Kadenchuk, whom the radio station Liberty ordained as a pastor and dubbed a member of the "Ukrainian Helsinki Committee", also works nowhere and shies away from paying alimony for eight children.

As Kadenchuk himself put it, squabbling and conflicts erupt now and then in the team of authors of anti-Soviet information for the radio station Liberty on the grounds of sharing money flowing from the West. This is the true face of Vasiliy Barladyanu and his accomplices who pass themselves as "the exponents of the Odessa residents' will" in Liberty's programmes.

Moldavian Language Debate Considered

PM0302120189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Own correspondent E. Kondratov report: "Listening to One Another. How Moldavia Is Resolving Its 'Language Problem'"]

[Text] Kishinev—A historian glancing at last year's Moldavian newspaper files in a few decades will probably be puzzled. He will think it startling that at the end of 1988 no problems were more important in the republic than... linguistic problems. Heated and even feverish debates on the fate of the Moldavian language were the center of everyone's attention, even relegating ecological disasters to the background. What were people arguing about so zealously? What were they trying to prove? The Moldavian intelligentsia, both the creative intelligentsia and most scientists, teachers, and students were upholding the program of "three basics": giving their native language the status of state language, restoring its Roman alphabet, and officially recognizing the identical nature of the literary Moldavian and Romanian languages.

Actually, the debates began more than a year ago. They erupted spontaneously at institutes, schools, and creative collectives. Newspapers printed linguists' conflicting opinions, open letters, and collective responses to them. People talked with great vehemence at meetings of the Mateyevich Literary and Musical Circle. They would gather up to 2,000 participants—they traveled here to the park near the Komsomol lake even from far-flung rayons. For several hours, despite the snow, sleet, and wind, the young people listened and are still listening to poets, reciters, authors, and linguists. The ardor with which those assembled spoke of their native language could surely be compared to the passions that seethe at rallies which take place from time to time in parks or in the city square.

These speeches became particularly fiery and loud following the publication last November of the Moldavian Communist Party theses entitled "Affirming Restructuring Through Concrete Actions." Their decisive "no" to the Roman alphabet and the vague wording on other linguistic points provoked not only emotional flare-ups among the intelligentsia and young people but also some, shall we say, nervous actions. As a result, approximately 60 student protesters were driven away from the central square in militia vehicles, and a stormy writers plenum was broken up at its very height in order to clarify the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee stance, but young people from the university first organized a protest rally outside their alma mater and called a Komsomol meeting in the park the following day, at which they demanded that the theses be withdrawn from general discussion.

All this time the Moldavian language was virtually excluded from the sphere of intellectual usage and was strictly a workaday, "kitchen table" language." During the time of Brezhnev and Bodyul, its use not only in official speech but also in all workplaces was considered almost a manifestation of nationalism. City schoolchildren began to be ashamed of speaking their native language. VUZ teaching, documentation, terminology, and speeches—everything was solely in Russian. Incidentally, IZVESTIYA has already written about this abnormal situation that prevailed in the republic.

This kind of "internationalism" did its job over the decades: Every year the people's vocabulary became narrower. Moldavians found it increasingly difficult to read books by their own writers—a Moldavian-Russian hodgepodge heard on every street corner became more usual. The Moldavian language lost its originality and became oversaturated with loanwords and clogged with vulgarisms. Restructuring provided hope for its revival.

"We need to give the people back a language that will not put itself to shame," writer Serafim Saka says. "A language with its natural right to respect at home and not a language that will cringe humbly in party, state, institute, and school corridors as it used to."

"The Moldavian language must be heard everywhere in Moldavia!"—champions of the "state language" have rallied under this slogan today. However, by no means everyone can explain what would happen if this new article appeared in the Moldavian SSR Constitution. Should "state status" for the language mean that henceforth all official documents and business papers will be written solely in Moldavian? If that is the case, how are we to deal with the other regions of the country and with

those organizations within the Moldavian SSR employing mainly Russians? If documentation is also duplicated in Russian, how will state Moldavian differ from nonstate Russian?

However, the proposals to "give state status" to both languages arouse objections from the supporters of the reforms. They believe that the bureaucracy must not be given the slightest excuse for disregarding the indigenous population's language. Let Russian remain the language for interethnic relations, let people use it within the republic where necessary, but Moldavian alone should be the state language. If it is not proclaimed the official language for political, juridical, and cultural contacts, there will be no change. That is the opinion of writers and most linguists.

The unproductive nature of the polemics on the status of the Moldavian and Russian languages was clear. It is hard to agree on anything when you can't hear your opponent. Party and state leaders avoid taking part in public language debates and spokesmen for the creative intelligentsia and students do not have access to the halls and offices where the decisions are made. The press doesn't carry any reasonable and calm evaluation of the arguments.

The fact that the theses effectively skirted the question of state status for the Moldavian language provoked a sharp reaction among readers. Kishinev schoolteachers and teachers at the humanities VUZ's with whom I talked are convinced that if the theses had spoken bluntly and frankly about the troubles that have befallen the language and about the most acute need to boost its public prestige, there would simply have been no cause for argument. Many believe that it is even more important to formulate distinctly the very concept of the republic's state language and define equally clearly the role and functions of the language of interethnic relations. Russian as well as Moldavian teachers have expressed the opinion that a new article in the Moldavian SSR Constitution on the status of the two languages will not harm the ideas of Soviet internationalism.

I must note that even the most ardent supporters of linguistic reform are distinctly aware that no people can now live shut away in a shell of linguistic self-isolation. "For Moldavians," movie director Emil Lotyanu said in a conversation with me, "that would mean robbing themselves and losing the chance to assimilate the scientific and cultural wealth that they have derived via the Russian language. Thus there is no point in the non-Moldavian population fearing a 'linguistic boycott'." It is another matter—let me add this on my own behalf—that everyone who lives in the national republic should know the language of its people. It must be taught in order for people to know it.

Since opportunities are expanding, more and more circles are opening. Komsomol members at this same university decided to help teach students of other ethnic groups the Moldavian language. The "Oferta" collective has already achieved excellent results using the rapid teaching method.

The question of the Roman alphabet replacing the Slavonic alphabet is being raised sharply. This is deemed necessary not only by Moldavian writers, journalists, and students, but also by most linguists. According to N. Matkash, assistant professor at the pedagogical institute, the Roman script corresponds best with Moldavian phonetics and reflects most precisely the etymology of words, thus enabling analogies to be made in teaching with French, Italian, and other related languages. The transition to the Roman alphabet, university Professor I. Buga believes, will facilitate Moldavians' access to the treasures of the Romance cultures and will to some extent be a linguistic bridge to the countries of Italic Europe. The following argument is also cited: The founders of Moldavian literature and its classics used the Roman alphabet whereas the Cyrillic alphabet derived from religious texts.

The academic supporters of the Cyrillic alphabet base its advantages on the fact that it has already served the people's culture for many centuries. Moldavians, Ukrainians, and Bulgarians are accustomed to the Slavic alphabet and the republic's entire population uses it for writing. But the main argument, according to the theses, is as follows. "The transition to the Roman alphabet," the theses say, "would cost billions and require enormous material backup, which would inevitably lead to the disruption of the social programs that have been mapped out for the next few decades, damage the population's prosperity, have an adverse effect on their spiritual development, and render them illiterate for many years."

Despite the fact that everyone is undoubtedly aware of the inevitability of major material expenditure, it is this clause of the theses that is being criticized today. This criticism is wide-ranging—from invective concerning the immorality of any attempts to measure the people's spiritual assets in monetary terms to sober thoughts on ways to effect a gradual and virtually painless transition to Roman script. A proposal has been made to begin by producing experimental primers and publishing trial books, individual newspaper articles, and then documents. Certain linguists believe that nothing terrible will happen if both alphabets are used at some time as in Serbo-Croat. Life itself would show whether the changes were acceptable or not.

Disputes are also boiling up over the "third cornerstone" of the debate—the demand for official recognition of the identical nature of literary Moldavian and Romanian. Admittedly, there is no sense of particular ardor in the disputes—most probably because it is obvous this demand is purely for show.

What is there to argue about if classics common to both peoples were written in one language, if radio broadcasts are equally comprehensible even to children of preschool age on both sides of the Prut, and if there's standing room only—the love of the language that both the actors and the audience call their own is so great—at performances given by the Yasskiy Theater staging a play by Iona Drutse in Kishinev?

Rallies, student protests, and the enthusiasm of the Moldavian intelligentsia are seriously alarming the Russian-speaking population, which for too long has obtained no full and accurate information regarding the precise demands being made by the advocates of reform. The incomplete and one-sided nature of the information provided grounds for the emergence of ridiculous rumors. "The Russians will be resettled" soon and "everyone with no knowledge of Moldavian is already being dismissed." People also came to the IZVESTIYA correspondents center with similar anxieties.

They said the "polemics" were becoming increasingly intolerable. Before opening local newspapers you can predict what SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA and LITERATURA SHI ARTA will write about the language problems. In December passions flared up beyond all reason. For a month every issue of the literary weekly and almost every edition of the daily party newspaper carried several pages of arguments supporting and opposing the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee theses. Stunned readers learned things from newspapers that would never have crossed their minds before. That the literary Moldavian language is seemingly not necessary because of its incomprehensibility. Or that Russian newcomers are to blame for its degradation. Calls to turn the screws and take the "immature" thinkers in hand were even heard. This culminated in a protest incited by a SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA rejoinder from the republic's prosecutor, who regarded a quite tame caricature of a bureaucrat who supported the Cyrillic alphabet in the weekly as a crime. Of course, the weekly immediately followed this with a sarcastic response....

Can one assert that the sides in this polemic were merely at odds on the basis of ethnic differences? Not at all. Many Moldavians—scientists and party workers—resolutely opposed the "three cornerstone" program. Writer Nikolay Savostin, who has worked fruitfully for many years in Moldavia, expressed the viewpoint of a considerable proportion of the Russian intelligentsia very precisely when he said:

"There is no need for condemnation, since the Moldavian intelligentsia's ardent desire to lift its language out of the ruins and even render it constitutional homage should be understood and assessed on its true merits. Every people is free to resolve its own linguistic problems itself."

The ardor with which the republic's newspapers covered the linguistic controversy resolutely relegated to the background coverage of the most important political, economic, and social problems in the republic's life. When it began to seem that there could be no question of compromise and rapprochement of positions, official articles appeared indicating that a definite trend toward mutual understanding had nonetheless emerged.

In the article "Time for Concrete Actions," S. Grossu, first secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, spoke of the pressing need to adopt a law on state status for the Moldavian language. Speaking of the transition to the Roman alphabet, the first secretary noted that this process should by no means take the form of a campaign, but should be regarded as a "potentially historic step" requiring great preparation, thought, and gradual development.

The last 2 days of last year seemed to have put an end to the protracted debate that had wearied the republic. The newspapers published a resolution and then detailed reportage on the final session of the interdepartmental commission to study the problems and history of the Moldavian language, which had been working for several months under the leadership of A. Mokanu, chairman of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. The resolution was the final word that the entire republic was waiting for from the commission. Having studied all the press articles and the appeals to the commission from more than 10,000 of the republic's citizens, and after serious repeated discussion of all aspects of the Moldavian language, prestigious historians, linguists, philosophers, public figures, and writers concluded that it was right and moreover necessary to decree the Moldavian language the state language. However, the commission stressed that both the principle of Moldavian-Russian and Russian-Moldavian bilingualism and the right of the languages of ethnic groups living on the territory of the Moldavian SSR to develop and function freely should be observed.

The transition to the Roman alphabet has been approved and linguistic and historical reasons adduced for it—again, provided that a program for its phased implementation is created without fail. Moldavian-Romanian linguistic identity has also been acknowledged.

Despite the fact that LITERATURA SHI ARTA continued, through inertia, to print articles on these same topics even in January, the weekly is now debating only with itself. Its opponents are silent. There is no need to rock the newspapers or kindle passions on the square. Especially since the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution was published last Thursday, 26 January instructing its permanent commissions to elaborate draft laws by March 1989 "On the Status of the Moldavian Language" and "On the Functioning of Moldavian, Russian, and Other Languages on the Territory of the Moldavian SSR." Deputies have also been instructed to carry out an in-depth study of the problems

linked with using the Roman alphabet, and the Council of Ministers has been instructed to organize the printing of trial publications using this alphabet.

Today, looking back at the now quiet "field of battle," we are entitled to talk of a victory for the principles of democracy and glasnost. This is illustrated not only by the nationwide discussion of the ethnic language problem but also by the ability of the republic's ideological leaders to take into account the opposite viewpoint that was manifest at the end of the debate. Could this have happened before? Does this not indicate the marked political changes that have been brought about by restructuring?

It is a pity that the poor standard of debate in the republic's newspapers and their mutual disrespect, denigration, and sometimes distortion of the other's arguments had a clearly adverse effect. Let's be frank: This controversy aroused a wave of not very healthy emotions that even gripped people who previously had never thought about linguistic problems or problems of interethnic relations. All these problems required great tact during their resolution, especially since Moldavia is a republic where Moldavians, Ukrainians, Russians, Gagauzy, Bulgarians, and Jews have lived for centuries. Each of these peoples and "every language here" is worthy of equal respect....

Well, we have things to learn—not only democracy, but also mastery of its striking weapon, glasnost.

Moldavian MVD Collegium Discusses Tasks

PM0502174989 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 24 Jan 89 p 2

[Unnamed ATEM correspondent's report: "The Strengthening of Socialist Legality—Criterion for Evaluation"]

[Text] *An enlarged session of the republic's MVD Collegium was held 21 January. It summed up the results of last year's work. The session was opened and chaired by G.I. Lavranchuk, Moldavian SSR minister of internal affairs.*

Main speaker G.G. Zhukov, republic first deputy minister of internal affairs, and debate speakers M.Kh. Popov, chief of the Moldavian SSR MVD Political Department; A.G. Davydov, chief of the Kishinev Internal Affairs Administration; V.S. Bulat, chief of Drokiyevskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department; A.I. Gushan, chief of Bendery City Internal Affairs Department; M.D. Plemedyale, chief of the Moldavian SSR MVD Investigation Department; V.N. Mishin, chief of the Moldavian Internal Affairs Transport Administration; and others said that the criteria for evaluating the activity of the republic MVD system must be its conformity with the tasks of restructuring and the process of democratization in all spheres of Soviet society's life and the real strengthening of socialist legality in the republic.

The session noted that, without underrating the important contribution made by Moldavian SSR MVD personnel to the strengthening of law and order, the work of its local apparatus and organs—when appraised from positions of the high demands made of law enforcement organs today—cannot be described as adequate. There are many omissions and defects in it, and mistakes and insignificant practical results are only too frequent. Moldavia's population and its party and soviet organs have good grounds for serious complaints against MVD leaders, political workers, and subdivision collectives for the lack of a radical breakthrough in the struggle against crime over a long period of time. Facts revealing the adverse situation which exists were cited at the session.

Of course, this cannot be attributed just to shortcomings in the militia's work. But the militia, the MVD as a whole, and other administrative organs—by virtue of their specific nature—bear responsibility for protecting citizens from illegality and crime and for ensuring public order.

The collegium session leveled specific criticism against militia leaders who have failed to eliminate adverse operational conditions in cities and rayons, to raise crime detection levels, and to organize precise operations by patrol and guard details. It was emphasized that militia staffers fail to perform satisfactorily the party instructions to law enforcement organs which were heard at meetings of the republic party aktiv, namely that their work must be of the highest possible quality and efficiency, that every crime must be thoroughly investigated, and that the deserved punishment should be meted out to culprits.

Much attention was paid in the speeches to the solution of the problem of crime prevention, and specific tasks were assigned to the criminal investigation and other investigating services, the Struggle Against Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation Service, State Motor Vehicle Inspectorate administrations, and the Moldavian SSR MVD Fire Fighting Service, whose activity gives grounds for justified complaints. There was a principled discussion about failures in the struggle against crime among young people, and shortcomings in cadre work were noted.

The system's political workers and party organizations must respond in a principled fashion to every breach of socialist legality, must aim for thorough investigation of the causes and conditions giving rise to such breaches, and must ensure broad glasnost for measures that are taken. There must be strict appraisal of leaders who fail to ensure that their subordinates are thoroughly versed in the demands of the law and normative acts governing their service activity, or those who encourage their subordinates to break the law in order to create an impression of sham well-being.

In the present complex situation, all party political, ideological, educational, and cultural enlightenment work in internal affairs organs' collectives and internal affairs subdivisions must focus on topical problems concerning the personnel's international and patriotic education.

The process of democratization and glasnost which has unfolded everywhere has created the most favorable conditions for significantly galvanizing the joint struggle waged by internal affairs organs and the public for firm socialist legality and the involvement of every person in overcoming the still extant instances of poor discipline standards, irresponsibility, and sloppiness. These conditions must be constantly borne in mind, and full use must be made of them. It was noted at the session that every militia staffer must not only respond efficiently to any breach of the law but must also promote by all means the general positive changes in society's life and must, jointly with party and soviet organs and labor collectives, channel these changes toward the utmost consolidation of our system.

It is not simple to accomplish such a turnabout, and success can be achieved only via the introduction of democratic principles in the militia's life. It is necessary to create in the collectives of MVD organs and subdivisions an atmosphere guaranteeing a balanced combination of firm discipline, high responsibility, and utmost self-reliance by everyone.

Jointly with local soviets, MVD staffers must seek new forms to intensify public monitoring of the work of precinct inspectors, various militia subdivisions, and the MVD as a whole. This will intensify not only the monitoring process itself but also the relations and contacts between the public, the entire population, and the militia; it will assist crime detection and will help improve the militia's entire activity.

Genuine restructuring of the militia's work in the spirit of the demands of the time can be achieved only through joint efforts, through efforts by all internal affairs organs' staffers with personal responsibility by each and every one.

The enlarged session of the collegium was addressed by S.K. Grossu, first secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee.

Taking part in the session were S.S. Astafyev, chief of a USSR MVD main administration; G.M. Volkov, chief of the Moldavian SSR KGB; A.A. Ryabov, Moldavian SSR minister of justice; V.S. Pushkash, chairman of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Court; N.K. Demidenko, Moldavian SSR prosecutor; and M.M. Zinin, chief arbiter of the Moldavian SSR State Board of Arbitration.

Moldavian Presidium Appoints New KGB Chief

PM0302110789

[Editorial Report] Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 24 January 1989 carries on page 2 under the headline "In the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium" the following unattributed report:

"On 23 January 1989, the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium appointed Comrade Georgiy Ivanovich Lavranchuk chairman of the Moldavian SSR KGB."

This is followed by a passport-size photograph and a 150-word biosketch of Lavranchuk, and this is in turn followed by the following unattributed "Chronicle" report:

"The Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium released Comrade Gavriil Moiseyevich Volkov of his duties as chairman of the Moldavian SSR KGB in connection with his retirement on pension.

"The Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium released Comrade Georgiy Ivanovich Lavranchuk of his duties as Moldavian SSR minister of internal affairs in connection with his transfer to other work."

Belorussian Commission To Handle Veterans' Problems

LD0302223489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 3 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A TASS correspondent reports from Minsk that a wide range of problems of reserve troops who have carried out their internationalist duty in Afghanistan was discussed at a meeting today between servicemen who served in Afghanistan and republican leaders in the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee. It was pointed out that, on their return home, the former internationalist servicemen actively joined in the struggle for restructuring. Party and local soviet bodies and public organizations in the republic show constant concern for the reserve servicemen, the disabled, and families of the fallen. Over 1,000 apartments have been made available to them on a preferential basis, and many have been awarded personal pensions from local and republican authorities.

At the same time, there are cases of an uncaring, soulless attitude. It was decided at the meeting to set up a special commission of deputies under the republican supreme soviet, which will urgently set about tackling the social and labor problems of the Afghanistan returnees.

Comrade Sokolov, first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee, spoke at the meeting.

RSFSR Deputy Health Minister on AIDS Outbreak
PM0502152189 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 3 Feb 89 p 1

[Interview with E. Nogovitsina, RSFSR deputy minister of health, by KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent Yu. Bespalov: "Unprepared. Kalmykia's Medical Institutions in the Struggle Against AIDS"—no place or date of interview given; first paragraph is an introduction]

[Excerpt] The extraordinary occurrence in Kalmykia, where 27 children and 5 adults were infected with the HIV virus in 2 of the republic's hospitals, the Children's Hospital and the Infectious Diseases Hospital, came as a bombshell. An RSFSR Ministry of Health commission is presently working here. Our correspondent interviewed commission leader E. Nogovitsina, RSFSR deputy minister of health.

[Bespalov] Everyone is now alarmed by the question of the real scale of infection. Have any new virus carriers been identified?

[Nogovitsina] Fortunately, not so far. We have already carried out specific examinations of over 4,000 persons. An opinion on how many people in the republic are carrying the HIV infection can be given later—this will require examining about 12,000 persons.

Hundreds of medical workers from neighboring oblasts and specialists from Moscow are involved in this work. Several specialized medical teams have been formed to work in the republic's rayons. All the necessary compounds and apparatus are available.

So far we have not managed to identify the prime source of the infection. Preliminary data on the cause of the occurrence have been fully confirmed by specialists from the RSFSR Ministry of Health and the Central Epidemiology Institute—all the blame lies with the irresponsible attitude of medical workers toward their professional duty. Specifically, several patients were being injected using the same needle. [passage omitted]

Gosstroy Session Examines Construction, Resources
LD0402212289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 4 Feb 89

[Text] [Aleksandr Zhetvin] A session of the Gosstroy was held in Moscow today. Our correspondent Yuriy Korotkov was present, and he is with me here now in the studio. I will ask him to brief us on the details. First, what was the subject of the session?

[Korotkov] Two matters were discussed: the tasks of the ministries and departments to speed up scientific and technical progress in construction of housing and public sector amenities, and the program for economizing on resources for this year. As you will yourselves understand, these are very important issues.

[Zhetvin] Yes, indeed, the housing problem is one of the most acute in our country.

[Korotkov] Incidentally, what is the total area of your apartment?

[Zhetvin] Well, honestly speaking I don't know! I think about 56 or about 60 square meters. We got it just recently, for the three of us.

[Korotkov] Well, on the whole that is not at all bad. Are you aware that the average total area for an apartment in our country is precisely 56 square meters? I will point out for comparison that in Czechoslovakia, it is 80 square meters, in France 100, FRG 120, and United States 150 square meters. The largest area is in Norway—200 square meters.

[Zhetvin] What is the average for each person?

[Korotkov] In our country it is 15.2 square meters, on average. In the Central Asian republics, it is 7 square meters, and in the Soviet Baltic republics, it is 20 square meters per person.

[Zhetvin] There is, of course, a big difference, in the statistics, overall. The target now is to provide every family with a separate apartment or house by the year 2000. Was it mentioned how it was planned to achieve this?

[Korotkov] This was indeed discussed at today's session. Yuriy Petrovich Batalin, Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, Yuriy Leonidovich Nazarov and other heads of USSR Gosstroy and its subdivisions, said that what was needed was a housing revolution, otherwise we will not be able to cope with the task set.

[Zhetvin] What is meant by a revolution?

[Korotkov] The main thing is to make maximum use of the achievements of scientific and technical progress, implement new construction technology with modern construction materials. The potential of scientific design organizations must be enhanced. There are about 200 of these within the Gosstroy system, but unfortunately very many of them give a very poor return. What is needed are creative, talented, and qualified people. It is essential to provide the scientific research institutions of the construciton industry with modern equipment and personal computers. In the United States, for instance, there is no such problem. In addition, as you probably know, we have for almost 30 years been engaged primarily in prefabricated panel housing construction. Now, monolithic housing construction is becoming widespread all over the world. It has therefore been decided to develop our construction in several directions: first, large-panelled housing construction; second, monolithic construction; and third, another effective method, namely the

method of housing construction from cellular concrete. For this, however, production of new types of cement has to be expanded; VNV and TNTs.

[Zhetvin] What's that?

[Korotkov] These are special brands of cement, binding and hammered. I will not dwell on the technology of their manufacture, that is a special, technical matter. In addition, at the session it was planned to expand the amount of industrial and cooperative construction. These measures, in the opinion of those taking part in today's session, will help to fulfill the set plans to resolve the country's housing problem.

Zaykov Addresses Science Firm on Restructuring

PM0702160589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
4 Feb 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Meeting with Scientists"]

[Text] Moscow's powerful scientific potential is capable of providing a specific and weighty return for the city economy and of substantiating the capital's current and long-term plans for development. But in fact the contribution of the numerous academy and sector institutes located here to resolving national economic and social tasks is still insufficient.

On 3 February, on a visit to a number of scientific centers in the city, L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the CPSU Moscow Gorkom, examined ways to accelerate scientific and technical progress and to galvanize the country's biggest team of scientists and engineers. G.I. Marchuk, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, was with him.

In the "Mosproyekt-2" administration of the Moscow City Soviet's Main Architectural Administration there was a discussion of the tasks of creating automated planning systems in city construction and architecture. The conference participants were acquainted with the progress of scientific developments for the use of automated planning systems in preparing the new general plan for the capital region for the period through the year 2010, in planning new buildings and installations, and in setting up automated systems to manage enterprises.

The utilization of mathematical methods and computers to assess and forecast the city's ecological situation was discussed, and this has considerable significance from the viewpoint of coordinating planning of buildings and facilities and also for the needs of the capital's public health.

The conference participants visited the "Moskva" automated control system scientific-production association, which is the leading organization involved in setting up a complex of interconnected automated control systems for Moscow's city economy. This year it is planned to carry out various operations here costing a total of R18 million.

The automated control system of the scientific and practical association, which is ready 24 hours a day to give Muscovites essential medical aid, was demonstrated in the ambulance center.

L.N. Zaykov met with the party and economic aktiv of the "Moskva" automated control system science and production association. Communists and all the capital's working people, he stressed, have become actively involved in the practical implementation of the 19th all-union party conference decisions and the radical restructuring of Soviet society. The results of the report and election campaign in the city's party organizations and of the 27th Moscow City Conference which completed it were a convincing testimony to this. The party's course toward radical renewal, democratization, the expansion of glasnost, and radical political and economic reforms is confidently making headway and the gigantic creative work which has been launched everywhere is beginning to produce tangible results.

An important stage in the political reform is the campaign now under way to elect USSR people's deputies. Meetings of deputy candidates with party organizations and working collectives have begun. One of these meetings took place yesterday at the capital's Vladimir Ilyich plant, which I visited with N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. The enterprise workers talked about their decisive support for the CPSU's foreign and domestic policy and the necessity to further deepen the revolutionary transformations.

As a candidate to USSR people's deputy from the Communist Party, the CPSU Central Committee secretary said, I would like to recall that the CPSU was and remains restructuring's driving force. For this reason both in Moscow and throughout the country the people nominate as candidates primarily Communists—those who are convinced Communists and who demonstrate the personal vigor of supporters of renewal. It is they who above all have to make the ideas of restructuring a reality and to achieve positive changes in Soviet people's lives.

It was noted at the meeting that the capital's scientists should substantially step up their activity in the city's interests. As a complex multifunctional national economic system, Moscow must become the testing ground for working out all innovations of the country's science and technology. The formation and implementation of the "Progress-95" comprehensive territorial-sectorial program to intensify Moscow's socioeconomic development are creating the necessary prerequisites for this.

The program's implementation is called upon to overcome the city's backwardness in many spheres and to assist in resolving the most important problems of its activity.

It is primarily essential to formulate a single general concept for full automated control of the city's territories and its 33 rayons. On this basis, assignments must be allocated in the near future among scientific organizations, central ministries and departments, and the Moscow Gorispolkom and its subdivisions in order to start gradually setting up a system of interconnected computer complexes, which operates continuously, is regularly restocked with information, and expands through new subsystems. Here we should consider the indestructible link between the development of the capital and of Moscow Oblast, skillfully combine territorial and sectorial approaches toward the formation of all plans and programs, and proceed from the importance of economic levers in the new conditions of economic management.

This work, which is being implemented within the framework of the "Progress-95" program, will serve as the foundation for preparing a similar city program for the 14th 5-Year Plan and as the model for creating similar systems in other regions of the country.

Shopper Says Restructuring Not Cause of Shortages
PM0302154089 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Letter from S. Kalmykova in Barnaul under the rubric "Topical Letter": "Thoughts While Waiting in Line"]

[Text] We are patient people, that is well known. But is it really necessary to test our patience so stubbornly and for so long? Could there be another option?

What prompted me to write was my distress at what I heard while waiting in line at the Barnaul Central Department Store. The thing is that since August soap, laundry detergent, toothpaste, and many other things have not been on sale in Barnaul's stores. The same is true, I have heard, in other cities, but does that make it any easier for us?

On 24 November I stood in a line from 1600 to 1800 hours—there was not enough toothpaste, so I had to wait again from 1500 to 1740 the next day. I bought three tubes of toothpaste and three bars of soap. However, my good fortune was overshadowed. In the time I spent waiting in line, I heard a great many unflattering things from the purchasers about our economic policy. What upset me was that they were mainly berating restructuring. As if it was to blame for everything! I tried to change their minds, but they told me: The lack of goods is created by the trade workers: The "flea market" sells soap, toothpaste, shampoo, and so forth at three times the price, and the people waiting in this enormous line are not going to sell things at the "flea market," it all comes from the stores and from the people who fail to control them properly.

I could not rest for what I had heard. It is upsetting to hear people blaming everything on restructuring. No doubt difficulties are inevitable at the start of anything complex and new. But how much can you take? And why is it all at our expense, at the expense of people who live very modestly?

I went to the "Merkuriy" cooperative. Not long ago the "Svezhest" store used to be there, where they always sold many different kinds of soap, laundry detergent, and so forth. Now it is all different at "Merkuriy." It is nicer and... more expensive. There, they were selling cotton panty hose at R13. I bought exactly the same panty hose in Moscow in July at a store on Gorkiy Street for R2. When I asked who makes the panty hose, the girl dropped her eyes and answered: "A cooperative".... They also sell ordinary boots there for R167. In Moscow they are R70-80.

It is no better at the "flea market." Here there really is everything, but the prices... Shampoo at R5-8, rabbit-fur hats—R50, boots—R100-200, lipstick—R5-10, and so forth.

After all I had seen, I wondered: What is going on?

I have been living in Barnaul since 1963. I have never once seen either rabbit-fur hats or felt boots on sale in the stores, but the "flea market" is always full of them.

So it has nothing to do with restructuring. We expect it to resolve rapidly problems that have been accumulating for years. No doubt it is necessary to step up monitoring of the trade in shortage goods and to take a close look at the cooperatives. But we also need more substantial, purely economic measures that would enable ordinary people to draw breath, so to speak, and provide their families with essentials. Otherwise people will get angry in the end, and no talk about restructuring, no bright prospects will make any impression on them. Some people might regard this as a consumerist approach. But is that all that concern for consumers is?

S. Kalmykova,

Barnaul.

MVD Transport News Conference on 'Shortcomings'
PM0602120789 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 2 Feb 89 p 4

[V. Shcherban report: "News Conference in USSR MVD"]

[Text] Information which was not usually announced in the past was at journalists' disposal for the first time at a routine news conference. Lieutenant General V.A.

Svistunov, chief of the Main Transport Internal Affairs Administration, "declassified" militia statistics. First he recalled that the main task of the transport militia was and remains the protection of the Soviet person's rights and interests, his own and his property's safety on trains, aircraft, and ships, at airports and at stations. This time hardly anything was said about achievements, although there are some. Basically the discussion was about shortcomings. Perhaps this is the reason why the general picture still does not look very bright.

According to figures from the USSR State Committee for Statistics, losses from theft during transportation of cargo in 1988 amounted to R39.7 million. More than half the losses were due to massive underloading or to the dispatch of poor-quality output. At times the difference in weight between dispatched and received loads reaches 10-15 percent! Last fall on the Azerbaijan and Volga Railroads a selective check of a thousand cars was made. One in three had load shortages totalling to 605 tonnes. Some 32 tonnes of melons alone were diverted. The mechanics of such operations are extremely simple: In documents the weight of the output dispatched is overstated and in the places where it is unloaded it is, on the contrary, understated, in order to create unrecorded surpluses. Uzbek, Azerbaijan and Turkmen agro-industrial and consumer cooperative organizations have a particularly great number of such falsifications on their conscience.

Meat and meat products transported in refrigerated units are being stolen on a large scale. There is a simple and efficient way which will make it possible to minimize thefts on the way. In the opinion of the transportation militia leadership, it is not the consigner who should seal up the refrigerated units with the meat, as happens now, but the teams accompanying them. It is they who will be entirely responsible for the loads' safety. But the Ministry of Railways' leadership will not do this, believing this to be inefficient.

Up to 40 percent of motor vehicle and agricultural equipment is also misappropriated. So-called "electronic guards" could also assist in this situation. But the militia only recently found a common language with the administration of enterprises which have already started to produce the mechanical means to protect socialist property. And while the hearing is in progress, large-scale embezzlement on the railroad is continuing unabated. The Odessa, Moscow, October, and North Caucasus Railroads are unfortunately preeminent here.

Recently we have often been perturbed by aviation accidents. How do matters stand here? In the past year there were 36 accidents. Some 228 people were victims and of these 119 died. During airport inspections more than 250 firearms, 86,117 edged weapons, and 411 kg of explosives were confiscated. A few words about the new criminal epidemic—anonymous calls with warnings about alleged imminent explosions on aircraft. There were 53 such calls last year. This year there have already been 12. Proposals have been submitted for the introduction of more severe punishments for "pranks" of this type.

The figures are not very pleasant... But only if we know about all the serious shortcomings and problems can we unite our efforts more quickly in a matter which is vitally important for each of us—finally putting transport in order.

That will make things calmer for all of us.

Conference Envisions Diplomacy-Journalism Teamwork
LD0302184089 Moscow TASS in English 1719 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 3 TASS—The possibilities of influencing the public opinion through a union of diplomacy, journalism and science were a theme of a scientific practical conference "Diplomacy and Journalism in Conditions of Perestroyka". The conference held at the USSR Foreign Ministry today was attended by prominent Soviet publicists, scientists, diplomats, among them USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy. The participants in the conference noted that the logic of perestroyka and new political thinking brought to the fore the need to upgrade the level of informing the population about international problems. The task was set to work out a contemporary model of cooperation between practical diplomacy and journalism that would be fully in keeping with the democratisation, glasnost and socialist pluralism of opinions. It was emphasized at the conference that the press should be part of the civic society and not an element of the state apparatus.

Polled Residents Favor Renaming Voroshilov Rayon
PM0302123389 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jan 89 p 1

[Unattributed report under the rubric "The Capital's Day": "The Question of Renaming Voroshilovskiy Rayon Was Examined Yesterday"]

[Text] This time the rayon's folk museum hosted a meeting of the working group of a public commission, which is gathering and analyzing material on the life and work of K.Ye. Voroshilov, headed by journalist Ye. Levandovskiy.

Summing up the results of the session, he emphasized that the very fact of the commission's work is a remarkable phenomenon and indicates the democratization of our society. Hence all its members are perfectly well aware of the responsibility they have to bear. The final conclusions and the final appraisal (whether positive or negative) of K.Ye. Voroshilov's activity can be done only on the basis of a thorough and comprehensive study of facts and documents. So far there are not enough of them. The rayon's residents are not unanimous in their

opinions on the question of renaming it. Results of an express opinion poll show that 75 percent are in favor of renaming it, and 25 percent are against.

Aviation Official on Khrushchev's, Others' Abuses
PM0702121189 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 29 Jan 89 p 3

[Interview with Twice Hero of the Soviet Union Marshal of Aviation Ye.Ya. Savitskiy by Yu. Shabanov, under the rubric "Fragments of the Past": "Decomposition of Power. Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Savitskiy Remembers"; date, place of interview not given]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Shabanov] Indeed, history provides more than enough examples of unlimited power corrupting the souls of despots themselves and leads, as you yourself said, to their downfall. But this downfall also threatens the society which is ruled by the despot. The Stalin epoch graphically demonstrated this.

[Savitskiy] We describe Stalin and his closest aides—Yezhov, Beriya, Vyshinskiy, and others—as the main culprits in the tyranny and illegality. This is only fair. They conceived the infernal meat grinder, as testified by numerous facts. But to speak only about the evil deeds committed by those people means not telling the whole truth.

Not so long ago, according to press reports, the USSR Academy of Sciences Problems of Complex Utilization of Mineral Resources Institute held a meeting which discussed the case of Doctor of Technical Sciences Professor Boyarskiy. V.A. Boyarskiy is a former NKVD investigator. Together with his boss Gorodnichenko, he fabricated material against 103 persons, 81 of whom were shot and the rest sent to camps.

Boyarskiy is a monster. The meeting sentenced him to public scorn. But I suggest that people like him should be tried. I suggest trials for all those guilty of degrading honest people who ended in jail during the years of Stalin's repressions. I believe that harsh punishment should be meted to those involved in the Kuropaty tragedy. Some of them are probably still alive and receiving their pensions today. [passage omitted]

[Shabanov] And how about the sense of shame for having extolled "the Leader" and his team: What do we do about that?

[Savitskiy] Society was rather late in recognizing them for what they were. In actual fact, Stalin continued to be extolled right until the 20th party congress and Khrushchev's courageous report which, I think, we are wrong never to have published in our own country. People should feel ashamed not so much for having extolled "the Leader," but for having failed to understand the danger of extolling him over and over again. There were, of course, also people who foresaw the terrible future—and they were dubbed "enemies of the people." At that time, our own awareness had not developed to the point of perceiving socialism as a society of free and equal people; we were still carrying the burden of centuries of humiliation. Only now are we beginning to straighten ourselves up and to absorb democracy and glasnost little by little through our pores.

[Shabanov] You say that we did not quite understand everything under Stalin. But how about under Khrushchev? Was that not again the effect of the old habit of living according to orders from the top and never mind all the rest? Unfinished democratic reforms led to the sociopolitical passiveness in society which flourished during the Brezhnev period....

[Savitskiy] Having toppled Stalin from the pedestal, Khrushchev did not manage to keep power in check and to control those yearning for it, and he himself became the victim of power. This is his and society's tragedy. I did not know Khrushchev very well: I met him infrequently and always in official circumstances. While on the Stalingrad Front, I reported to him, as member of the Military Council, on the automation of fighter aviation command. He was energetic and businesslike. That was how he started in the office of first secretary of the party Central Committee. But power, power!... Way back, Stalin was held to be the father of all sciences and arts. Khrushchev also started meddling in all spheres of life—without getting down to essentials, in a voluntarist fashion. We military people experienced that for ourselves.

Do you recall the Army cutbacks implemented under him? In itself, this action was important both politically and economically. But there was no need to act in such an illiterate fashion. The airmen took against Khrushchev. For some unknown reason, they started chopping aircraft to pieces, burning them, and crushing them with tractors. Experienced airmen, who could have transmitted their experience and knowledge to the young ones, were made redundant. And yet you need to spend R1.5 million to train an airman. And why break up the equipment? Those same aircraft could have been used for transportation purposes in various sectors of the national economy. [passage omitted]

Paper Advocates Declaring Stalin Camps Monuments
PM0702102589 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 29 Jan 89 p 1

[Article by V. Sungorkin under the rubric "Every Day in This Spot": "Marble Gorge"—first paragraph is editorial introduction; article is accompanied by a photograph of an area of rocky terrain crossed by a wire fence with wooden watchtowers]

[Text] This picture was published in yesterday's issue of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA. It provoked questions from many readers: What is this? Where is it from? V. Sungorkin, the photographer, tells us about it:

We are now reading about Stalin's camps, and we are horrified by the scale of the repressions, by the millions and millions of our compatriots who were persecuted. We, who did not live in those dim and distant times, today voice our indignation out loud: How could the people tolerate this? But now I look at the photograph and recall: Even 14 years ago both I and many of my young peers already knew a great deal about what is common knowledge today....

We are now looking for documents of that time, and we hear complaints about the inaccessibility of NKVD and MGB [People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs and Ministry of State Security] archives. We saw enough "documents" in the mid-1970's when we were on the Baykal-Amur Main Railroad [BAM]. During Khrushchev's "thaw," the camps in the more populous areas were removed and assiduously razed to the ground. The diligent teams of "purgers" of our country's history did not reach the taiga and the mountains through which the "zeks" [slang for camp inmates] of the "BAM camp" had laid the route. And the empty camps still stood, right through the optimistic 1970's. Komsomol detachments were set down by helicopter in the taiga hamlets and discovered that the proud modern word "BAM worker" had long been synonymous with "robber" in the lexicon of old timers (their mothers used to frighten them with the word in their childhood). They saw the embankment, on which trees had now grown, the granite supports of bridges towering, solitary, over the deserted river, a postwar tunnel filled to the ceiling with ice, and over it a bas-relief of Iosif Vissarionovich reaching almost to the sky. And everywhere rusty barbed wire, half-ruined barracks, and rickety towers. The camps.

Japanese bulldozers plowed up the barbed wire and the posts and pushed them into a pile. The barracks were burnt down, and the towers were dragged onto the same bonfire so that not a trace remained—the dry wood burned brightly. New rails were laid on the old ties. Sometimes the excavators brushed against a layer of human skeletons, and then the men would swear and drive off somewhere else. The old timers talked fearfully and in whispers about mass executions—they said that almost everyone in the camp at Murtygit was killed. The Evenki reindeer breeders from the "Zarya" sovkhoz recalled the generous reward offered for the head (the head—literally) of a fugitive. But generally it was not done to talk about these subjects—it was considered very indecent. People did not even dream of writing about it. For some reason.

So this picture lay around for 10 years, and no one even thought of publishing it. We did not live during the "personality cult" years, but the "system of bans" was easily and conveniently lodged in our minds. Or is it true that the fear is passed on in our genes?

The Komsomol Central Committee Bureau resolution on the work of Komsomol organizations to rehabilitate Komsomol members repressed in the personality cult years, published in yesterday's KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, and the constituent conference of the "Memorial" association, which opened yesterday in Moscow, forced people to recall a film shot in the Transbaykal ranges in the north of Chita Oblast.

That camp has been preserved to this day. Possibly because it is located high on the Kodar Ridge. We got there in a few days on foot. I do not know a lot about the camp. Tens of thousands of people worked there. First they laid a temporary railroad more than 1,000 km long from the Transsiberian. It ran through mountains and along swamped river valleys. Then they built an airstrip. They carved galleries in the wall of the mountain cirque and began extracting ore....

It is well known that one of the camps here was called "Sinilga" (Shishov's "Ugryum River" is not far away). It is believed that no prisoner ever escaped from there. For hundreds of miles around there are only bare mountains and glaciers. The snow melts toward the end of July, and starts falling at the beginning of September. The climate here—high in the mountains—is very dry. Perhaps this is why everything has been preserved: Utensils, clothing, placards on the hut walls: "The drillers of X column challenge X drillers." An ancient Studebaker lay stuck among the rocks. The guardroom: "Guard! You must!..." The bridge across the river has survived, power line supports and the enriching factory on the bank are still standing. The "zeks" did a quality job. The cemetery is preserved. The paper-thin barracks are still standing. In 60 degrees of frost only those who were closest to the stove survived...

I have not managed to find out what happened to these prisoners. The camps on the Kodar were ultra-secret—in the nearby village of Chara I heard in the pre-BAM times that all the prisoners were driven into the mine galleries and the entrances were blown up. If that is not the truth, then I ask you to respond: Who is still alive from among the prisoners of Mramornoye Ushchelye [Marble Gorge]? Write to me at the KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA editorial office. I hope that there will be a sequel to this article.

I am writing this piece and it suddenly occurs to me that someone will read this is the quiet of his office, and he will slowly pick up the telephone: "Did you read it? Mmm-yes. This question ought to be cleared up somehow." And a helicopter will land—the barracks will be burned down... Why does such an "odd thought" spring to mind? I would like to know, why?

Certainly, in principle, all the documents about the repressions can be burned and Stalin's camps can be wiped off the face of the earth. History, in principle, can be successfully falsified—we have already seen it happen. And once again veterans and teenagers will write to the editorial office: "We do not believe you. Stalin advocated order. Where is the evidence for the repressions?" The camp in Mramornoye Ushchelye is the evidence.

I propose that we preserve those Stalinist camps which still remain in remote places. Declare them historical monuments. Make Mramornoye Ushchelye a museum area—it is only 60 km in a direct line from the BAM route. The Chita youth newspaper's editorial office is one of the initiators of the "Memorial" movement. Well, folks, perhaps you will support the idea? Surely you have also heard about Mramornoye Ushchelye. I have made the same suggestion to the Komsomol Central Committee headquarters on the BAM. Around 100,000 victims of repression worked in the BAM camp system, and there were thousands of Komsomol members among them.... The administration was located in a city with a symbolic name—Svobodnyy [Freetown].

Mass Grave From 1930's Uncovered in Altay Kray

PM0702112389 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 4 Feb 89 Second Edition p 6

[V. Pavlov report: "Altay 'Kuropaty'"]

[Text] Barnaul—The prosecutor's office report published in Altay Kray newspapers was brief. It stated that interred human remains bearing signs of violent death had been discovered at a depth of approximately 2 meters 19 January this year during construction work on the territory of the Gorno-Altay Oblast Potrebsoyuz Construction and Installation Administration. Criminal proceedings have been instituted with regard to this fact, and an operational investigation group has been set up.

What happened in Gorno-Altaysk? A TASS correspondent put this question to Altay Kray Prosecutor I. Gushchin.

"The construction work was at once suspended, and we carried out excavations by hand. In a small section we discovered a multitude of untidily scattered human remains and extracted 50 skulls holed by revolver bullets in the temple or back of the head. We established that they were men between the ages of 30 and 50.

"Among the things found there were enamel mugs and bowls, remains of footwear and horse harnesses, buttons of various sizes and colors, bullets, and cartridge cases. It could clearly be seen on one of the preserved soles that that pair of footwear had been manufactured at Leningrad's 'Treugolnik.' The production date was clearly visible on one of the cartridge cases: 1928.

"Following the newspaper reports, people began to turn to us. One old man, for example, said that before the war there had been a hothouse and a vegetable warehouse where the burial place has now been found, while nearby there had been an NKVD [People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs] camp, to which political prisoners sentenced under Article 58 were brought. An eyewitness who had worked there as a watchman also reported that 50 or more prisoners were dying in the camp every day of typhus."

"What are your specific conclusions, Ivan Pavlovich?"

"For the time being I will not draw specific conclusions with regard to the human remains found in Gorno-Altaysk. For the investigation has not yet been completed. Additional facts and witnesses are needed. One thing is clear: A tragedy happened here in the thirties. And if we prove that there was a kind of Altay 'Kuropaty' here, then it will be possible to talk about perpetuating the memory of the dead and setting up an obelisk to the victims of Stalinist repressions in this place."

Health Official on Psychiatric Malpractice

LD0402180589 Moscow World Service in English 0410 GMT 4 Feb 89

[Excerpts] The issue of mental care and psychiatry has been much discussed in the Soviet press in connection with the National Congress of Psychiatrists, just over in Moscow. Our next story is about it. [passage omitted]

The policy of openness has revealed serious shortcomings in the psychiatric service and even malpractices. As a result the Health Ministry has set up a special case reviewing commission whose job is to consider disputes and malpractices. Legal guarantees against malpractice have been incorporated into the new set of regulations on the procedure whereby psychiatric services are extended to the population, introduced last March. Here is what the chief psychiatrist of the USSR Health Ministry, (Aleksandr Karpov) says in this connection.

[Begin (Karpov) recording in Russian with superimposed English translation] Under the new rules it was made absolutely clear that commitment to a mental institution or treatment for a mental condition in no way restricts civil rights of the patients or outpatients. On the contrary our patients enjoy a number of benefits. For instance, if a psychiatrist believes that a patient needs a bigger apartment the local bodies of government must comply. Patients are given psychotropic drugs free of charge in spite of the fact that they are quite expensive. That is very important for the patients, especially those who have been disabled by their condition and now draw disability pensions. We are considering a review of the system of registering mental patients. In the past nine out of every 10 mental patients were put on record. Many patients responded to this painfully and for that reason did not seek psychiatric assistance. That is why we have taken off record 10 percent of a total of 5 million mental patients over the past year. [end recording]

[Announcer] According to the new rules a patient may not be examined by a psychiatrist without his or her consent, or the consent of the family. Psychiatrists may examine patients under exceptional circumstances when they turn aggressive. Law enforcement agencies have no right to decide whether this or that person requires a pyschiatric examination. [passage omitted]

Forcible commitment to a mental institution is the most painful issue of psychiatry. Cases have come to light of people being committed to mental institutions without reason. According to (Aleksandr Karpov) a total of 18 such cases have been recorded to date, but this should not be taken to mean that those who were committed were mentally healthy. They did not require a stay in hospital; appropriate measures have been taken in the wake of these revelations. As a result some psychiatrists lost their jobs and proceedings were instituted against some of them. Under the new law a healthy person cannot be committed to a mental hospital; the violation of that law carries a prison term of up to 2 years. Here is (Aleksandr Karpov) again.

[Begin (Karpov) recording] A person can be committed to a mental institution only if he or she is aggressive and able to put the lives of other people, or his or her life, at risk. In all other cases we have no such powers. [passage omitted] [end recording]

[Announcer] As part of the policy of openness, Soviet psychiatrists invited their Western colleagues to examine the patients who were represented in the West as dissidents. Western psychiatrists who came to the USSR in the past to meet with such people maintained they have been admitted to psychiatric hopsitals without any grounds. (Aleksandr Karpov) disagrees with that.

[Begin (Karpov) recording] At times they were examined by lawyers, not psychiatrists. They did not take into account the fact that the people they examined are being treated and may have taken a turn for the better. At times our psychiatric patients end up in the Western psychiatric clinics, having left for the West. For instance Nikolay Baranov, a man whom we considered to be mentally ill and whom the West represented as a martyr who suffered because he was outspoken about human rights, was admitted to a British mental clinic after he left this country. When things like this happen it is for some reason much more difficult to obtain any information about these people, although allegations about our supposed malpractices circulate freely. [end recording]

Soviet 'Forces' in 'War of Magazines' Outlined

AU0202085189 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 28 Jan 89 p 5

[Article by Vladimir Jancura, Bratislava PRAVDA permament correspondent in Moscow, in the "In the Margin" column: "Is the 'War of Magazines' Over?"]

[Text] A local satirist expressed it with the following aphorism: Today it is more interesting to read than to live. Judging by the graphs showing the print runs of Soviet newspapers and magazines, which have being going up and up in recent years, this is clearly correct. After the recent elimination of quotas, several publications have been achieving world records. Even "thick journals"—as the literary-artistic and social-political monthlies are called here—are becoming the reading matter of the masses. How can this be explained? After all, as a rule, such a journal publishes "serious" novels in installments, poetry, extremely long studies, and has a very austere, uninspiring layout. With what, then, does it attract the attention of millions? With its written content in particular. But until recently—for the normal reader even that used to be abstract, longwinded, and a "heavy" reading. The situation quickly changed when contemplations, analyses, and essays became specifically critical, calling things by name, and even polemical. And when "heavy weapons," above all slanderous pamphlets, joined the battle. Since then, one has begun to talk about the "war of magazines."

Let us say a few things about the setup of forces. One camp consists of the monthlies ZNAMYA and JUNOST, and the weekly OGONEK, the second of NASH SOVREMMENIK, MOLODAYA GVARDIYA, and MOSKVA. From time to time they are joined by other periodicals, but these are not really that important.

At the stage of discussions and more-or-less "guided" polemics, the two sides publicly exchanged considerably contradictory views on these or other events and personalities in the history of Soviet literature. They also showed a fairly differing approach toward the assessment of the individual pages and chapters in the annals of the Soviet state. So that in this way the reader at least had the opportunity to acquire a notion of the ferment of ideas in the writers' community.

The "war" broke out when the quarreling parties let themselves be carried away by passions and began labeling one another. All of a sudden, "conservatives" were up against "progressives," "apologists of stagnation" against "proponents of restructuring." After the first clashes, the soldiers (literary critics) were replaced by generals—chief editors—who otherwise are wellknown writers. And the washing of dirty linen began on the pages of respected magazines. The shocked reader was informed about who was slandering whom in the past with "higher instances," who prevented whom from being published... and even worse things.

The wisdom of the Oriental proverb "rummaging through history is like patting a tiger on the head" was affirmed.

What, in the beginning, had been such interesting reading was increasingly the embarassing settling of personal accounts among its authors. One was reminded of the "hitting below the belt" in the home-made literary duels of 20 years ago.

It is obvious that protests by intelligent local people were swift in coming. Teachers, engineers, workers raised their voices: What sort of an example of the socialist pluralism of views and of the standard of discussion are the masters of culture giving us?

At the beginning of this month, at a meeting with representatives of science and culture, Mikhail Gorbachev also appealed to the warring artists' "better nature." "Let us reach agreement at this meeting," he told them, "that we will leave ambitions aside and think of the people and our country." In the discussion that followed, he proposed—half seriously and half jestingly—that some of the chief editors "locked in combat" should take an example from big politics and begin "unilaterally disarming."

The judicious word of the highest Soviet representatives also carried weight this time. It seems that OGONEK is the first to sound the retreat, the magazine which, already by virtue of its print run (more than 3 million copies) and several sensational "exposures", had been markedly contributing to the escalation of the "war." Reports about halting the polemics are also arriving from the editorial offices of other magazines.

Central Soviet television also paid considerable attention to this affair the day before yesterday. In the popular program "Attitude" several prominent personalities from cultural life took a position on it. The leitmotiv of their positions was as follows:

Let us stop thinking of ourselves as being pure and lily-white and rather concentrate on creative work.

This could be the end to pointless feuding.

***Article Urges Return of Rostropovich Citizenship**
WA1800042 9 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Jan 89 p 5

[Article by Yu. Kovalenko: M. Rostropovich: "My Dignity Means a Great Deal to Me"]

[Text] The enchanting strains of Tchaikovsky's music filled the expanse of the Grand Opera, and after the last sound died away, the entire audience gave a standing ovation: ministers, writers, ambassadors, industrialists, musicians and singers all applauded. Wild "bravos" were screamed from the balconies and orchestra. Touched, Rostropovich bowed, clasped his hands to his heart, thanked the conductor and orchestra and went backstage, but returned to the stage at his public's demand.

This was his third concert to aid the Armenian earthquake victims. "Dear friends," I read in the program notes Rostropovich's hand-written appeal to the public, "People with generous hearts have always united in misfortune, when help is needed for sisters and brothers who have endured tragedy. This help must come quickly. Thank you for your kindness!"

...In order to give a concert to aid Armenia, he flew from India to France for two days, and the next morning already set out for guest appearances in the USA. In the West, Rostropovich is considered an outstanding performer, and the famous artist's life consists of concerts, rehearsals, flights and hotels. Rostropovich comes to Paris infrequently, although he has an apartment here, near the IZVESTIYA press room. I have visited Mstislav Leopoldovich, conversed with him several times on the phone and read the letter of the West German professor published in NEDELYA: "Why is it that Rostropovich is still not played on Soviet radio? Could it be that his interpretation is considered anti-Soviet?"

Of course I discussed perestroyka and glasnost with Mstislav Leopoldovich. He spoke with enthusiasm, clearly and graphically, of occurrences in the Homeland, but declined to be interviewed, and did not wish that our conversation be published in the Soviet press.

"I don't consider myself guilty of anything in anyone's eyes," he emphasized, "but to meet with fellow nationals while having the rank of an enemy of the people, a man without citizenship, is not what I want. For my human dignity means a great deal to me. Why do they talk only about how Brezhnev destroyed the economy, and they don't mention that he wreaked havoc with performers, the artistic intelligentsia? The time has come to explain this. The decree which stripped Galina Vishnevskaya and me of Soviet citizenship was signed by Brezhnev, and we have remained in this state ever since."

Let's go back to 1976. Before leaving for prolonged guest appearances abroad, with the permission of the Soviet Government, M. Rostropovich and G. Vishnevskaya sent a letter to P. I. Demichev, the USSR Minister of Culture in those years. In it they wrote, in addition to words of gratitude for attempting to assist them, "We have only one creative life; we consider it unnecessary and impossible to waste it on a humiliating struggle with fools and scoundrels, who, we are certain, are intentionally creating our unbearable situation."

They intended to return home, supposing that the "passions" had cooled, and that with time, the attitude would change as far as the bureaucrats from Culture were concerned. But, alas, nothing had changed. On 16 February 1978, Rostropovich and Vishnevskaya applied at the Soviet Embassy in the USA, a request directed to Brezhnev himself, to extend their passports for three years. They had signed new contracts for this period.

A month later, in Paris, on 15 March, they learned from the television news that they had been stripped of their Soviet citizenship. On 18 March, two employees of the USSR Consulate in Paris requested that they give up their Soviet passports. The musician declared that he considered deprivation of citizenship "a lawless act."

The next day, Rostropovich and Vishnevskaya wrote a letter to Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet L. Brezhnev: "You have deprived us of the opportunity to live and die in our native land, the land in which we were born and to which we gave almost

50 years of our lives, dedicating our work and talent to our people." They wrote that regardless of any accusations, they had never participated in any anti-Soviet organizations, and that their only guilt was that they had given A. Solzhenitsyn comfort in their home, bringing persecution down on themselves. Concerts were canceled, guest appearances prohibited, there was a press boycott by the mass media. While still in the Soviet Union, Rostropovich appealed to Brezhnev for help. Unsuccessfully. "It is within your power to force us to change our residence," their letter said, "but you are powerless to change our hearts, and wherever we are, for the sake of the Russian people, and with love toward them, we will continue to promote our art with pride."

No one deigned to respond to this epistle, a "cri de coeur," although articles appeared to the effect that, while living abroad, Rostropovich and Vishnevskaya conducted "anti-Soviet activity," "defamed the Soviet system," and "systematically aided subversive anti-Soviet centers," and they were pasted with the label of "ideological turncoats."

In attempting to justify the decision to revoke citizenship, the newspaper VOICE OF THE HOMELAND did not mince words: "the shifty guest stars," "unscrupulous, self-centered types who were not squeamish about anything that had to do with money-grubbing...." The newspaper's special rage was provoked by the cellist's solo concert in San Francisco to benefit a committee for Russian invalids of the First World War, a group of "monarchists and the White Guardists."

This was how, 10 years ago, we were "emancipated" from two People's Artists of the USSR. It seemed that the door had slammed behind them forever. They were both deprived of their titles; broadcasts of their concerts were prohibited, records withdrawn, their names expunged from the encyclopedia. And we were deprived of the opportunity to hear the playing of Rostropovich and the singing of Vishnevskaya, winner of the 1977 "World's Best Opera Singer" prize.

From foreign "Voices" we learned of Rostropovich's regular conferral of awards, prizes and titles. He was appointed to the French Academy of Fine Arts. In accepting his congratulations, he said, "Mankind is my family's name. My home is the world."

Rostropovich's younger daughter Yelena travelled to Moscow recently. "For a whole week we discussed what is happening in Moscow," Rostropovich said in one interview. "She got together with friends, and saw that everything was in a state of motion. I subscribe to Soviet newspapers and magazines, and as I read them, I also see that everything is in motion. Much is changing in the Soviet Union. Gorbachev is acting like a doctor who has made the correct diagnosis... I hope that the economic and moral health of our country will be restored... Gorbachev wants to change psychology. The is very important and very difficult..."

Interviews, endless interviews, and the journalists' obligatory questions about what is happening in the Soviet Union, what restructuring's chances are. "It takes time to get results. The West must assist in this transformation." This is not the response of an impassive man. In the musician's words was the pain of the past, and profound, sincere joy over the beginning of the great processes of renewal and democratization. "I am a soldier of restructuring on the Western front," the musician once said.

... For the majority of Russian people in emigration, the question of returning home arises sooner or later. For some, it arises with the onset of old age; for others, it tortures them their whole life long. Perhaps creative people sense this more keenly.

The return of Soviet citizenship to Vishnevskaya and Rostropovich signifies the restoration of justice. Can it be that we have abased ourselves by publishing the works of Zamyatin, Nabokov and Khodasyevich, printing Brodskiy's poems, showing Tarkovskiy's films, Chagall's paintings, Goncharova's and Larionov's? Our national pride only increased. Attempts to divide Russian culture with a soundproof wall have done serious damage.

Awards for Rescuers of Ordzhonikidze Hostages

LD0302220689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has awarded medals and orders of the USSR for courage and bravery to the participants in the operation to rescue 30 school children and a teacher taken hostage in the city of Ordzhonikidze by a group of armed criminals. The Order of the Red Banner has been awarded to: Balashov, deputy commander of an Air Force squadron; Major Bochkov; Colonel Sheremetyev. The Labor Red Banner has been awarded to: militia Colonel Batagov; Bashkov, commander of the crew; Colonel Zaytsev; Martirosov, the leader of the consular group of the USSR Foreign Ministry in the State of Israel; Lt Gen Ponomarev. Natalya Vladimdirovna Yefimova, a teacher at the school N42 in the city of Ordzhonokidze has been awarded an order for personal courage.

Economic

Abalkin Interviewed on Ways To Accelerate Reform

PM0702155689 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 6, 5 Feb 89 p 12

[Interview with Academician Leonid Abalkin by Vladimir Gurevich: "For a Program of Economic Improvement. Academician Leonid Abalkin, Director of the Institute of Economics, USSR Academy of Sciences, Nominated by the CPSU As a Candidate for People's Deputy of the USSR"—date, place of interview not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Academician Abalkin described his economic programme—it could be considered at the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR—at a recent meeting

with scientists and cultural workers at the party's Central Committee. What does this programme include? How does it fit into the economic reform? What are the prospects for the reform? Abalkin discussed these questions with "MN" analyst Vladimir Gurevich.

V.G.: At the meeting you said we need large-scale, radical measures over two or three years. Large-scale measures must have major causes...

L.A.: I am convinced of the need for economic reconstruction which we have begun. I see no reasonable alternative. But we must take a realistic view of the problems. Despite the steps already taken—and a lot has been done since the beginning of the reform a little over a year ago—no serious changes have occurred in the economy. Moreover, the problems affect every family: the empty shop counters, the rising prices of many goods. The difficulties are not a function of perestroika per se but of the inconsistency with which the reform has been implemented, to say nothing of what we are paying for the past.

On the one hand, our economy has been developing against an extremely unfavourable economic "background". The prices of our staple exports (oil and other raw materials) have fallen drastically as have our currency revenues. There have been tragic developments: Chernobyl and the Armenian earthquake, disasters which cannot be compared to anything in the postwar years. The anti-alcoholic campaign, necessary but thoughtlessly implemented, has upset the financial system.

But on the other hand, waffling vis-a-vis the reform has also had its effect. Last year more than a half of all industrial output was produced by enterprises which had gone over to new conditions of work, whereas the central government departments and ministries continued working in the old way. We started saving on imported consumer goods, which immediately told on the market, although we are aiming to socially reorient the economy. We've also lost control over the correspondence between the growth of cash incomes and the growth of production.

V.G.: You speak about the need for improvement. Which diseases should be treated first?

L.A.: The question is, primarily, of financial improvement. We must act, I believe, from the two sides simultaneously. First—drastically curtail the supply of money into the national economy. Cut down budgetary appropriations, stop many costly projects yielding no quick returns, reduce spending on military and space programmes. We must learn to pay our way as was stressed in the January address from the CPSU Central Committee. How long can the state go on supporting enterprises operating at a loss or giving minimum returns? They must be leased to collectives, transferred to cooperatives, or closed down. There is the law and it mustn't remain a mere slogan. Cutting subsidies for such enterprises would save roughly 20 billion rubles. Other steps, too, are needed. Money must not be handled in the way it is handled by our current crediting system. And wages must not be paid for artificial results.

Second—it is urgent that we saturate the consumer market. Urgent in the sense that we have to develop the Group B industries. But this will take several years. And today? I think we can already afford to expand retail trade in building materials: bricks, cement, glass, roofing iron, wood. If we change the channels of their distribution and supply them to the retail network, we will already be changing the structure of the economy, not waiting till new enterprises are put into operation, because these resources immediately become Group B products. The consumer market would also be affected by switching some defense industry enterprises to the production of civilian goods, the broad development of the lease contract and the cooperative movement.

V.G.: What do you think of the Council of Ministers' December 29 resolution restricting cetain cooperative activities?

L.A.: We need to understand why we decided to develop cooperation. There are two approaches. One is to use it to fill in the gaps left by the state sector. The other is to promote cooperation as the counterbalance to state monopoly in the economy and to stimulate changes in the state sector. Here, the point is the new ideology of economic management implied by perestroika. I am convinced that the December 29 resolution is not consonant with this ideology. I am concerned not so much even by the interdiction on certain cooperative activities as by the placing of several cooperatives under the control of state departments. I believe that this amounts to backing away from the very concept of the reform, to a mistake which we must not be allowed to make.

Besides promoting cooperation and leases to balance the market, we must switch the population's demand to long-term investments: issue shares, bonds, goal-oriented loans. The solutions can be most unexpected. For instance, a regional loan is floated for the construction of a boarding-house for family recreation.

V.G.: "Ladies and gentlemen, buy family boarding-house bonds!"

L.A.: That's right. How many people want to buy guesthouse vouchers every year, but can't? Many would agree to invest money and, by way of clearing off the loan, to spend their holidays in this boarding house.

V.G.: What role do you give the imports policy?

L.A.: I am not in favour of certain "one-shot" solutions. Imports could become one of these measures. Of course, we need to import technology for the production of consumer goods, and we have now obtained credits for

the purpose. But new enterprises or the reconstruction of old ones will give returns only after some time. Must we meanwhile accept a growth in the import of consumer goods? I think so, but without using additional credits: It's one thing to use the finances of the population which we shall pay off "in kind", and it's another thing to use hard cash which we don't know when we shall earn again. It would be more correct to manoeuvre in the imports structure. If we shrink the front of capital construction, we can give up the purchase of equipment for some projects and use this money for the purchase of consumer goods. We should take a look and decide what is more "effective". For instance, one foreign- exchange ruble, invested in household electronic appliances, gives 20 or more rubles in domestic trade turnover. Of course, when it comes to importing medicine, we mustn't consider rubles but people's health.

V.G.: Suppose we have embarked on a programme of economic improvement. What is happening meanwhile to the economic reform?

L.A.: Having achieved at least relative equilibrium on the market, we shall be able to move forward more boldly and have firm ground under our feet. The improvement programme doesn't mean stopping the reform, but buttressing it. If we get down to this, by the year 1991 (i.e., the new, thirteenth 5-year period) we shall be able to take radical steps in switching from administrative methods of management to economic ones.

V.G.: If only the current needs, even the most pressing ones, don't overshadow this goal. Little time has been left to draft the new five-year plan. And there is apprehension that it may be formed on the old principles: The ministries and republics will again be told what products they should make and how much. Then this rigid framework will "programme", as in the current five-year period, the reform's development for another five years.

L.A.: The course of the reform has been complicated by the fact that we endeavoured to fit it into the framework of the assignments remaining from the Twelfth 5-Year Plan compiled long before the emergence of the reform. Now is the time to learn from this. We must ensure that the Thirteenth 5-Year Plan is prepared according to fundamentally different principles from the preceding twelve. Those five-year plans add up to nearly 60 years, to at least two generations of managers and planners reproducing definite approaches and stereotypes. Therefore one mustn't think it's easy to make the next five-year plan in a new way. Today it is clear what the five-year plan should not be like, but I wouldn't say that we are sure what it should be like. Yet this is a fundamental, even political question.

V.G.: What should be the principles of the new five-year plan?

L.A.: First it must be based on social goals and criteria—solving the housing problem, developing the health-care system, saturating the market with goods. Everything should be geared to this, to this social reorientation. This means not judging success in terms of quantity of output and rates of industrial growth "in general." We shall probably enter the next five-year period with every union republic receiving socioeconomic rights unknown in our state's entire history, and going over to self-management and self-financing. Regions, cities, and districts will switch to similar principles. Social development, housing construction, communal services, public catering, trade, and local industries will be placed fully under the jurisdiction of the republics. This means that you will no longer be able to restrict them from the centre, demanding that they salute you and fulfill your orders.

The situation is also changing in relation to the enterprises. The law must work at full tilt. The enterprise will receive guidelines, but the workforce unit will approve and endorse its own plan—above and below these reference points. It is fully entitled to do so. It will be necessary to fully modify the concept of state orders, which are still like military orders from the state. As a transitional measure we have adopted temporary regulations on the state order for two years: They have been criticized by many, including me, but they will lose their validity by 1991. The state order must be fundamentally different: Enterprises will take it of their own free will and on a competitive basis, as a rule, meaning that it must become the most advantageous for them. Then the five-year plan must also change radically: It should detail not so much the volume of the state order, which will later be pressed down on the collectives, as define the conditions of its shaping and the spheres of its application. Relations with the budget will also be different: They should come as close as possible to the taxation principle. Lastly, investments: The state will no longer be able in advance to assign all the enterprise's investment. The enterprise will invest a sizeable part of its funds itself; otherwise what kind of self-financing are we talking about?

V.G.: But these approaches and criteria for the next five-year plan are a far cry from what we have now. And in order to "invest" such principles into the new five-year plan, we must make a special effort. And not just brainstorm. But if we don't manage this year, it will be difficult to change anything in 1990.

L.A.: This won't happen of its own. This is why society must show concern and sound the alarm. We must draft the next five-year plan openly and with broad public discussion. These problems concern everyone. The subject of discussion, I believe, should be the priorities for the new plan and principled approaches to the problems. The responsibility of the task will probably call for some steps also on the part of the highest bodies such as the future Congress of People's Deputies and, in the interim, the Supreme Soviet. If any serious discussions arise, the

Supreme Soviet as a permanently functioning body could interrupt its work, say, for a week or two, the deputies could leave for their localities, meet with the electorate, listen to their mandates and then reassemble to find an optimal solution.

V.G.: Until now the state apparatus has prepared a single draft decision for discussion, if any, but not for amendments which would mean preparing another draft, waiting for a long time, or adopting it as it is...

L.A.: It has been my profound conviction and old idea that the preparation of alternative decisions must be a key element in restructuring the political system and abolishing the omnipotence of the apparatus over the bodies of people's rule. Provided there are alternative decisions, the political leadership can fulfil its functions: compare, choose between the variants, and pass decisions (instead of rubber-stamping them).

If we take the five-year plan, the point is not the actual drafting—this, in all probability, will always be a professional function, requiring definite skills and knowledge. Few can draw up a better plan than the state apparatus and administrative bodies can. But first there must be a concept, an ideology of the five-year plan: a system of priorities, goals and main proportions. And several variants must exist. Say, along with the variant from the State Planning Committee a variant from the Academy of Sciences and a variant from the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions. If we are not immediately prepared for such steps, we can use official opposition: Scientists, representatives of trade unions, commissions and groups of deputies, professional and public organizations can analyze the draft, identify its weak points, contradictions and unrealistic solutions. This applies not only to the drafting of five-year plans, but to any major project: pension legislation, price reforms, etc.

Today we are speaking—and this is the party line—about the need to combat monopoly in the economy and in public life. But a key aspect of this struggle is overcoming the monopoly position of the apparatus in preparing the drafts of major decisions. This is consistent with perestroyka, with socialism's new image.

Academician Aganbegyan Urges Faster Pace for Reform
PM0702162189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
6 Feb 89 Second Edition p 3

[Article by Academician A. Aganbegyan under the "Platform for Discussion"

[Text] During restructuring we have all been observing fundamental improvements in glasnost and truthfulness, in people's thinking and social activeness, and in our foreign policy. But the material conditions of people's life, the structure of the economy, the technical standard of production, and the quality and competitiveness of our output are proving slow to change. The majority of Soviet families appear not to have sensed a change for the better here. What is going on?

I think there are three basic reasons.

First, the pit of stagnation, from which we are emerging with difficulty, has proved far deeper and steeper than it previously seemed. The forces of inertia and resistance to economic restructuring proved stronger and more powerful than it had appeared. Economies bound hand and foot by inefficient links cannot really advance until they cast off those shackles.

Second, the measures being taken to free ourselves from the shackles of the past, smash the old management system, and switch to an economic system of management have in many ways so far been halfhearted and not radical enough, designed to ameliorate and improve rather than achieve a radical, revolutionary transformation. This is not a question of words and decisions but of concrete action on the formation of the state order and economic norms for enterprises, organizational restructurings, and so forth.

Third, we are only just learning glasnost and democracy in economic decisionmaking. But a number of important decisions complicating economic development were taken in offices behind closed doors and proved to be wrong. There was the decision to farm out to ministries the setting of state orders for 1988 and the economic norms for 1988-1990, which immediately clipped the wings of enterprises that were working well and distorted the content and essence of these new categories of economic management. In my view, an unforgivable mistake was made in the latest raising of vodka prices, which encouraged home distilling on a massive scale, a shortage of sugar, and an annual loss to the state of around R10 billion. Covertly 2 million Soviet citizens who received Vneshposyltorg checks while working abroad were harmed. Once again this was a burden on the domestic market because the import of consumer goods fell.

Too many production facilities of various types continue to be built only out of intertia, facilities which we do not now need and on which resources so necessary for raising the people's low living standard are being spent. For example, why was it necessary to step up assimilation of the Astrakhan gas condensate field and spend considerable amounts of foreign currency on the purchase of equipment without proper preparation, with the result being the pollution of the Volga delta and creation of a danger to the environment. Perhaps economic science campaigned for all this? No, its representatives fought as hard as they could against these decisions, which were taken without them.

To be fair, it must be said that the initial victories were won with the public's help: The work to divert the northern rivers to the south has been halted, although a

number of canals designed for that purpose are still being built—wrongly, in my opinion. There has also been success in killing the bureaucratically devised and adopted decree imposing unjustified taxes on cooperatives. Finally, a decision has been made not to build another tractor plant in Yelabuga (we already have large surplus capacities for tractor production and each year produce several times more than the United States) and to convert that enterprise to the production of passenger cars for the population.

What practical conclusions could be drawn from an analysis of our mistakes? The 19th All-Union CPSU Conference drew the main conclusion—on further democratization in society and the party as the motive force and basis of all restructuring, including in the economy. It would be a very good idea if in the future major economic questions affecting the interests of millions of people were decided more openly and if economists were involved. Another conclusion is that there must be more radical measures to restructure the economy and a more determined break with the administrative system of management. But we are delaying everything, putting off to tomorrow what could have been done yesterday. I have in mind here primarily our most acute problem, which is slowing down the whole economic reform—the problem of the financial imbalance of our economy.

Why did the supply of goods to the consumer market "suddenly" begin to deteriorate sharply and noticeably before our very eyes in the second half of 1987, and especially in 1988? The volumes of consumer goods production and retail commodity turnover did not fall. As is shown not only by value indicators but also by natural indicators, they are increasing. But the fact is that the population's money incomes have been growing even faster and the gap between demand and supply has widened considerably. In 1988 the population's money incomes rose by 8.5 percent, commodity exchange by 7 percent, and industrial production by 3.9 percent. If you adjust the last two figures against the index of the "concealed" price increases, a yawning gap appears in the balance between supply and demand. The growth of money income, primarily wages, calculated using unsuccessful norms (dependent, for example, on the utterly fictitious indicators of the normative net output type in industry or, even worse, the volume of construction and installation work in construction) is virtually out of the state's control.

The CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum adopted a resolution on elaborating a special program to achieve financial balance. Time has passed, but there is no program. And what is needed is a broad, integrated program that includes, among other things:

vastly more extensive voluntary use of the population's resources to improve their own housing conditions;

the introduction of effective economic incentives for enterprises and workers of all sectors producing goods and services;

a doubling of consumer goods imports for the next 3-4 years (increasing their proportion from 13 percent to 25 percent of the import total) by reducing purchases of certain types of equipment and metal output;

the centralized direction of substantial resources and the enlistment of foreign capital to produce annually an extra 2-3 million cars and the same number of video systems and personal computers, to double the production of modern furniture, and so forth.

Of course, this must be a multifaceted program that also includes measures to regulate money incomes; the transfer to a more flexible price policy; the issuance of securities in the form of shares and bonds to draw the population's resources into providing apartments, to build plants for the production of cars, video systems, and furniture with the guarantee of priority in the receipt of that output; and much, much more besides.

The fundamental question is how to achieve a radical switch toward satisfying people's needs. Those means must not be administrative. For decades we have been trying to resolve the task by means of directives and have been unable to do that. Now, once again, we want to use the state order, issued from above, to satisfy people's needs more fully. But there needs to be a fundamentally different path: It is necessary to expand independence and completely eliminate directive-based planning with respect to consumer goods and services, to give a genuine interest to producers and sellers, and to link their material interest to the satisfaction of the population's demand. Then, in my view, things will work.

What has been said also applies to the development of agricultural production. The main brake here is the existing state purchase plan, a kind of requisitioning of farm produce, which is tantamount to administrative tyranny toward kolkhozes and sovkhozes, whereby crop areas and herd sizes are still planned and tasks indicated for local areas while packages of measures are devised in offices elsewhere. So long as there are state purchases for the sale of output, the lease contract will not really work because it presupposes the economic freedom not only of the lessees, but also of the leaders of kolkhozes and sovkhozes, who also need to have an interest in the development of the lease. But for that they must be given the independence they desire. Not until 1991 are we going to introduce new agricultural prices, and you can hardly expect to give kolkhoz members a real interest without them. Why has it taken 5 years to prepare these prices when in the past this took a few months?

In connection with the financial imbalance, some people propose implementing a monetary reform. I am opposed to that idea because monetary reform can have the most

adverse social consequences. There is the difficult question of the reform of retail prices, and in the process of that reform the raising of prices for bread, meat, and dairy products in state trade. In principle, I think, this reform is necessary. But it will succeed only when there is a more balanced consumer market. Under these conditions, if this price increase is carried out together with full compensation to the whole population of the extra expenditure in the form of direct additional payments, it is possible to prevent the population's living standard from falling. Of course, such a rise in prices may be carried out after a nationwide discussion and with the consent of the majority of the population. But all this, it seems to me, is a matter for the future, and the question of the reform of retail prices should be left off the agenda for the next 3-4 years. The main thing now is to implement measures for the financial treatment of our ailing economic mechanism.

It seems to me that we could embark on these measures in the long term if at the same time (in addition to the aforementioned subsidies) we were to implement a whole range of interconnected measures to supplement the incomes of certain groups of the population, introducing, for instance, a new pension law, or possibly raising the minimum wage, increasing child allowances and other benefits to mothers of large families, allowing enterprises to date [datirovat] spending on public catering more so when prices rise the cost of meals in plant canteens does not rise, and so forth.

We are taking the path of economic reform, thank God; but, despite taking a big step forward in very good documents, when it comes to their practical implementation we often take two steps back. Even the recently adopted temporary provision on the state order for 1989-1990 bears the hallmark of the old imposition of the plan from above, of a diktat to the producers. The existing wage-fixing normatives do not serve restructuring well: In the switch to full economic accountability and self-financing, these normatives, the main ones for providing incentives for workers, simply remained unchanged. Why expect the intensification of material incentives if restructuring has hardly affected the producers of output? I quite often visit enterprises in different parts of the country and I always ask workers: What has changed in your work and in your pay in the switch to the new conditions of economic management? In the majority of cases I hear the reply: Virtually nothing. We work as we used to work, by the job rate or by the hour, we have registered in a team, but it exists more on paper, and wages are paid regardless.

We will only achieve an explosive effect when the form of labor organization and payment is changed and the economic reform reaches the worker and the peasant. This works best of all now when using the so-called second model of economic accountability, in which the wage fund is formed as the result of and as a residue after the enterprise has covered all its other costs. Thus, like it or not, it is also necessary to change the system of payment at work stations and to switch to the contract or lease relations. For example, a whole group of production associations belonging to the Ministry of Geology was transferred to the second form of economic accountability and, in 1 year's work under the new conditions, labor productivity there rose 25 percent, plan targets were overfulfilled dramatically, and all quality indicators improved beyond recognition. But in the national economy as a whole, only a few individual enterprises out of many tens of thousands are working under this system.

The economic mechanism, based on economic methods, could be a powerful engine driving our economy forward and achieving its qualitative improvement and renewal. But this mechanism will work only if it is backed up by a rational centralized policy in the expenditure of state resources. In the light of our new defense doctrine of military spending, it is expedient to reduce the number of new and ongoing production construction projects by 20-30 percent in the next few years, particularly the costly and long-term projects, and to look closely at other budget items with a view to reducing them considerably. It would also be a good idea to do as they do in a number of other countries and allocate budget resources on repayment principles, demanding the reimbursement of those funds if they are used for nonproduction purposes. Then there will be less keenness to build the Sredne-Yeniseyskaya GES and especially the Turukhanskaya GES, where the costs run into the many billions, or to insist on spending on the Transcaucasus highway, or to contemplate the construction of expensive canals such as the Danube-Dnepr, Volga-Chogray, and the Volga-Urals type, which are dubious from the environmental viewpoint and even more so from the socioeconomic viewpoint. It is a good idea to investigate each loss-making or low profit enterprise and, where matters are hopeless, close those enterprises down, thereby saving the state substantial resources. Then it will be possible to leave more profit to economic organizations for retooling and social development rather than scrap them all, as happened, for example, when establishing economic norms for light industry. The surprising thing is not that this mistake was made but that it has still not been rectified.

To find additional reserves and potential for socioeconomic development it is expedient, under the auspices of the USSR Gosplan, to examine each process from resources to the end result. For example, the meat and milk situation: The whole chain should be examined from feed production to final output. During this examination it will become clear where there are bottlenecks and shortcomings and where it is possible to make great savings and increase the national economic effect and the end result with the minimum expenditure of resources and often without any expenditure. At one time I, for example, examined the trucking process. We spend billions of rubles each year on the production of new vehicles, and at the same time more than one-third of the trucks stand idle during the working day. Those being used work for 9 hours in all and out of those 9

hours spend 3 idle. When they are on the move almost one-half are empty, and even when they are loaded as a rule they carry far less than their design capacity allows. Multiply all these factors and you will find the real efficiency of truck use. It is clear that the vast resources needed for the repair or servicing of hundreds of thousands of obsolete vehicles could be saved quite painlessly. And the same approach could be used, sector by sector, sphere by sphere, and problem by problem. Reserves and potential must be sought and found. The idea of this work is based on the fact that the greatest reserves and potential here are found not within a specific sector but at the junction between sectors. And only the intersectoral approach enables you to think out measures to make use of this potential.

As an economist I understand well that we have no alternative to fundamental restructuring, the orientation of the whole national economy toward people, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the replacement of the administrative system of management by economic regulation, and the transfer to balance and equilibrium in the market. But that path should be taken two or three times as fast.

Georgian Foreign Trade Firm Established

LD0702135789 Moscow TASS in English 1350 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] Tbilisi February 7 TASS—The Gruzagroimpex foreign trade firm has been set up by the Georgian agro-industrial committee in the Soviet Caucasus to help local processing industries enter the world market.

"We have sufficient grounds to expect stable currency revenues from agricultural exports," Revaz Donadze, foreign relations department head in the Georgian agro-industrial committee, told TASS.

"We already have experience in exporting. Our enterprises export more than 40 million dollars worth of mineral waters and lagidze fruit drinks under an agreement with a U.S. Cleveland export-import trade company," he said.

"Our own export and import firm will make our foreign trade operations more efficient," he said.

RSFSR Working To Increase Lease Contracts

PM0802111589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 29 Jan 89 Second Edition p 2

[Ye. Khokhlov report: "Path to Efficiency"]

[Text] In RSFSR ministries and departments 50 enterprises were working on lease contracts last year. In 1989 another 660 plan to introduce this method of economic management. At present the RSFSR Council of Ministers is formulating measures to develop lease relations more extensively in various sectors of the RSFSR's national economy. A conference-seminar of ministry and department leaders and their economic services which took place 27 January in Noginsk, Moscow Oblast was devoted to this question.

Speaking at the conference, N.T. Trubilin, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, noted that last year many sectors were working under conditions of full economic accountability [khozyaystvennyy raschet] and self-financing. This helped boost efficiency. But the results expected in developing the economy were not achieved. The RSFSR budget deficit exceeded R6 billion. One in seven enterprises is running at a loss. Their number is particularly large in the RSFSR Ministry of Housing and Municipal Services, the Ministry of Fuel Industry, and the Ministry of Consumer Services. The reason for the shortcomings is the slow assimilation of the new economic management methods.

The advantage of lease relations as a form of economic accountability was shown by specific examples. Directors of enterprises in the Moscow region, where convincing results have already been achieved, shared their experience. The seminar's participants came to the general conclusion that leasing can and must be one of the future avenues of radical economic reform.

Planned Far Eastern Free Economic Zones Discussed

OW0102080489 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 27 Jan 89

[From "The World Today" program]

[Text] Dear listeners, we have reported that the Soviet Union plans to set up free economic zones within its territory. Special economic zones will be established in Maritime Kray in the Soviet Far East. Specifically, where in the Soviet Far East will these special economic zones be established? Luchnik, chairman of the executive council of the Maritime Kray, answered this question raised by IZVESTIYA.

Luchnik said: Indisputably, there are three candidate places. They are Nakhodka, (Hasang), and (Glodykova), a railway center. (Glodykova) is a communications center with a promising future along the Soviet-Chinese border region. (Hasang) is an area where the Soviet Union, China, and the DPRK border each other. It can also be regarded as a place bordering Japan, as its (Bushiyek) Port is not far from Japan. The area is suitable for developing tourism as its beautiful scenery has long attracted foreigners. The place is ideal for developing both tourism and small, ecologically clean industries for high-grade commodities. The manager of a Japanese company recently told Soviet television that his company may take part in establishing an automobile plant and an electronics center in (Hasang). He even suggested that the area may become one of the best cities in the 21st century. Last, I would like to say something about Nakhodka. The favorable conditions of this region

are obvious. It possesses a well-developed infrastructure, including three large ports and several railway lines, and the necessary technology and equipment.

Does the Soviet Union plan to borrow the rich experience China has gained in developing special economic zones? Which aspects of China's experience are most useful to the Soviet Union?

Luchnik said: There are a lot of useful experiences we can use. For example, China has attracted investment from Chinese living abroad in different parts of the world. We can also take this path. There are many Russians abroad, too. Many of them live in Canada, the United States, and other countries. I believe they include people who will invest in joint ventures in the free economic zones. The strategy of economic development adopted for the Maritime Kray appeals to people. The establishment of a triangle development zone linking (Hasang), (Glodykevo), and Nakhodka will strongly advance the development of the entire Maritime Kray. Perhaps, after a review of this model of development, we may further expand the area of joint ventures.

Formation of National Economic Mechanism Urged
PM0702094589 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 3 Feb 89 p 1

["Viewpoint" article by Candidate of Economic Sciences R. Khabibi, chief of the social development laboratory of the USSR State Committee for Statistics' Scientific Research Institute of Statistics: "In Search Of Harmony"]

[Text] As is known, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has countermanded a number of acts of legislation adopted by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet because they do not accord with the USSR Constitution and USSR Laws. They include the legislative act proclaiming the republic's exclusive ownership of all natural resources, all fixed production capital, and other property that is on the republic's territory and is national property.

While demonstrating the groundlessness of this action in his speech at the Presidium session, M.S. Gorbachev at the same time stressed the need to have a legal, state, and above all economic mechanism that would make it possible to link a republic or oblast to an enterprise of any status and ensure the region's involvement in the elaboration of production forces' development plans.

Unfortunately, the existing concept of republican economic accountability can scarcely claim to be that mechanism. I am talking about the concept set out in the document "Agreed Basic Principles of Republican Economic Accountability." The document was adopted at a conference of Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian specialists on the development of a new model for the socioeconomic development of republics and regions.

In the "Agreed Basic Principles of Republican Economic Accountability," the transfer of natural resources, all fixed capital, and other property on the territory of the republic to republican ownership is seen as the basis of its economic independence. In this connection the document stresses: "Union subordination of enterprises, organizations, and farms, banks, transport and power systems and facilities, and communications systems on the territory of the union republic is abolished" (SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA 28 September 1988). The only exception is USSR Defense Ministry all-union facilities.

The supporters of this concept of regional economic accountability believe that the only way to deal with central departments' diktat is to have all enterprises located on a region's territory managed from the regional center.

What can one say about this? The negative consequences of this diktat, both ecological and social, are common knowledge. Measures are needed, in some cases urgent ones. But the proposed concept of regional economic accountability gives rise to serious doubts.

No one would dispute the fact that the current diktat by central departments is an element in the system of command-and-administer methods of running the country's economy. But the proposed system of regional economic management does not get us away from the administrative system either. Basically, what is being proposed is the replacement of central departments' diktat with republican departments' diktat: that is, going from one extreme to the other.

In fact, one of the chief shortcomings of existing national economic management is that it is combined with state management. The earmarking of an economic center as an independent management organ would make it possible to exploit the basic principles of economic accountability—self-management and self-financing at the level of the national economic complex as a whole. In this case the national economic complex would operate as an economically accountable association.

In what organizational form would it be possible to implement management of the country's national economic complex? I think it would be best to revive the Supreme National Economic Council on a new basis. V.I. Lenin, stressing the great importance of the development of democratic methods of national economic leadership for the country's future, considered that a form of democratic management such as the Supreme National Economic Council "...is destined to grow, develop, and strengthen, dominating all the main activities of organized society."

The transfer to command-and-administer methods of running the country made it impossible for the Supreme National Economic Council to exist: It was abolished in 1932. In 1963 the Supreme National Economic Council

was revived, but it did not exist for long: Command-and-administer methods of running the economy, gathering strength again, made the removal of this barrier a priority.

As is known, the Supreme National Economic Council was based on a network of local economic councils. Evaluating their role in regional economic development, Estonian SSR Gosplan Chairman R.A. Otsason stressed that the main shortcoming of the economic councils, in his view, was the fact that their boundaries frequently did not coincide with regions' administrative boundaries, which led to a division of political and economic power; among other shortcomings he noted the fact that the economic council, as a form of management, had not been buttressed by the democratization of enterprise management and democratization of management at the local level, in cities and rayons.

All this is true. But, judging by the experience of the sixties, the chief shortcoming was the fact that there had been a failure to harmonize all-union and regional interests in national economic development: Regional interests clearly took precedence. The fact that the solution could easily have been found within the framework of the existing system is something else altogether. But they followed a different, bureaucratic path, which led to central departments' diktat.

Conditions are now undoubtedly ripe for solving these problems by democratic means. Enterprises' independence has increased and the role of labor collectives has strengthened. The election of a Supreme National Economic Council by an All-Union Congress of Representatives of Labor Collectives would appear to be perfectly legitimate. It would be advisable for the Supreme National Economic Council to have two equal sections—for the union national economic complex and for the regional economies. This could be a significant aid in the coordination of all-union and regional interests during the elaboration of economic development plans.

As for the Supreme National Economic Council's economic management function, it should include not only the coordination of the actions of regional economic councils, but also direct management of enterprises of all-union significance.

Of course, there will have to be a considerably larger number of regionally-subordinate enterprises than at present. But enterprises in the transport and energy systems and also heavy industry enterprises constituting the foundation of material production must be managed from the union center. Placing them under individual regions would undoubtedly slow down the country's overall economic development.

As for the light and food industry and enterprises and organizations in the social sphere, it is the general view that the whole of this vast activity, as M.S. Gorbachev stressed at the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session, must be run by the republics, and even by oblasts, cities, and rayons.

Within the Supreme National Economic Council framework, the existence of union-subordination enterprises (associations) in a region does not lead to central departments' diktat. In fact, all regions, having become equal members of the Supreme National Economic Council, will have enough rights to safeguard their economic independence, including control over the activity of union-subordination enterprises and participation in the elaboration of plans for their development.

Thus, effective regional economic accountability can only be established as a component of national economic accountability. Only then can the strengthening of the country's unified national economic complex be ensured on the basis of a harmonious combination of all-union and regional interests.

*Ways To End Goods Shortages Suggested

WA1827005389 Moscow TRUD in Russian 2 Feb 89 p 2

[Article by Candidate of Economic Sciences A. Levin, Moscow: "Gross Money"]

[Text] It looks like shortages have really done us in. TV sets, washing and sewing machines, cameras, fabrics, clothing, and footwear are in short supply... The shortage of foodstuffs—meat, sausage, sugar, confectioneries, etc.—is getting worse. I won't even mention "trifles" such as soap, toothpaste, razor blades, etc. The shortage of razor blades has gotten its "second wind": Several years ago, we encountered it, but managed to eliminate it. However, razor blades have disappeared from the store shelves again.

It may be much easier to say what is not in short supply at present. Actual stocks of merchandise are approximately 8 to 9 billion rubles below the norm, which needs to be maintained to avoid disruptions in sales. This is the record amount for our economy.

Characteristically, tremendous volumes of unneeded merchandise, the so-called surplus stocks, were occasionally accumulated in retail trade in the years of stagnation. Our resourceless trade did not know what to do with them and how to get rid of them. Economists discussed this issue seriously at the time: After all, losses due to warehousing the surplus in trade were enormous, the turnover of goods slowed, and the pace of production was disrupted.

At present, the growth of retail trade occurs in great measure due to "eating away" the necessary stocks of goods in retail trade, which have declined by about one-fourth over the 3 past years of the five-year plan. For 75 to 80 percent of all merchandise assortments, the stocks on hand are less than the norm. This generates excessive tension in trade, which we all feel through the half-empty shelves in stores and the lengthening of lines.

The fact that at present 70 billion rubles in our country are not covered by supplies of goods is one indication of the magnitude of the shortage.

What are the main reasons for the exacerbation of the shortage? Panic buying caused largely by rumors concerning the forthcoming increase in retail prices is one of them. Here are other factors. The accelerated increase in the monetary income of the populace is a factor: In 1988, it increased faster than in the 2 preceding years combined. A reduction in imports and activization of operations by cooperatives, which have begun to purchase the goods necessary for their work in large quantities, is a factor. The failure to meet production quotas for some consumer goods is also a factor.

For example, according to the data of the USSR State Committee on Statistics, light industry enterprises failed to fill state orders in 1988 for producing cotton fabrics (57 million square meters were not delivered), woolen fabrics (a shortfall of 8.2 million square meters), knitted garments (a shortfall of 20 million items compared to the state order), and footwear (a shortfall of 15 million pairs).

In all of this, the Ministry of Light Industry managed to increase the volume of production of consumer goods as measured by their retail prices by 7(!) percent. This is not paradoxical. After all, the increment was secured due to the production of so-called "improved-quality goods," which are priced higher. At the same time, production of many popular goods, especially inexpensive ones, declined.

As a result of this kind of "perestroyka" on the part of the Ministry of Light Industry, the populace overpaid about 4 billion rubles for such goods in 1988. In other words, every Soviet family overpaid about 55 rubles a year!

Recently, government resolutions were passed and measures aimed at preventing unfavorable processes were developed to protect the interests of consumers (especially low-income brackets) from unjustified increases in retail prices and the disappearance of inexpensive merchandise groups. The future will show how effective they are going to be. However, we can say right now that, for example, the array of goods for senior citizens for which low prices are established is quite restricted. It does not include many items produced by light industry that are necessary for senior citizens(for example, headgear, underwear, sweaters, robes, etc.), to say nothing about products of other industries.

Let us return to the"improved" goods, due to which employees of the Ministry of Light Industry became "top performers," ubiquitous shortages notwithstanding. A lot has already been written about the quality of these goods. Let me recall the main points. Results of selective checks made by the USSR Committee for Statistics showed that complaints by buyers concerning quality were made on about one-third of all footwear acquired through retail, 25 percent of Soviet-made knitted garments for children, and 16 percent of outerwear.

The situation with the quality of other non-food items—furniture, complicated household appliances—is hardly better. "Quality marks" given to a great share of products have not eliminated poor quality encountered by the consumer. Poor-quality goods and rejects only aggravate the shortage and cause additional problems. People are forced to spend their spare time looking for goods, waiting in line, and taking things to repair shops. It has been calculated that throughout the country approximately 50 billion man-hours are spent annually in this manner.

The shortage creates an unfavorable situation not only in trade but in the entire sphere of goods turnover and currency circulation by causing inflationary phenomena. In the environment of shortages, the monopolistic behavior of individual enterprises is reinforced and the growth of prices for their products is encouraged. In 1988 alone, retail prices for clothing, underwear, and fabrics grew by 10 percent, for leather footwear—by 8 percent, for sewing machines and passenger cars—by 7 percent, for knitted garments—4 percent, and so on.

Finally, the shortage affects the moral atmosphere of our society providing an environment for speculation and other antisocial phenomena. How can the shortage be controlled?

Certainly, the main point is to expand the production of consumer goods. It is envisaged that goods production will be increased by 24 billion rubles above the established targets of the five-year plan in the remaining 2 years of the plan.

However, a question inevitably arises: What if these goals are met by increases in retail prices, as is done at present on many occasions? Will enterprises embark on the already beaten path, all the more so because now they are entitled to set prices for their products themselves in negotiations with retail trade establishments, and all the more so because in an environment of shortages retail trade is also interested in the growth of prices, which makes it much easier to fulfill retail turnover plans?

I am sure that as long as planning remains geared to gross statistics, no one will be in a position to give any guarantees. The pursuit of "gross product" statostocs assumes particularly acute and, I would say, particularly dangerous forms in producing consumer goods. After all, not just the "gross product," but the worst variety of it—"gross product in retail prices"—reigns supreme in this sphere. Quotas for producing consumer goods for enterprises—as well as for increases in retail trade turnover for trade, by the way—are set in retail prices. Therefore, it is not the quantity and quality of goods meeting the needs of consumers but "gross money" that becomes the

purpose of industry operations. However, customers are interested in real goods that they need every day, but this is exactly what is missing—pieces, kilograms, and meters.

Hence the obvious conclusion: It is necessary to remove the statistic of consumer goods production in terms of retail prices from the state plan of social and economic development of the country in order to overcome the shortages, saturate the market with goods, and prevent the process of growth of retail prices and the disappearance of inexpensive goods. This statistic should not be communicated to enterprises even as a control figure.

Let the enterprises themselves decide how many items should be produced and in what quantities on the basis of orders from the trade establishments and data of surveys of demand by the populace.

What can we suggest in lieu of gross product in retail prices? Actually, nothing should be suggested. Orders from the trade establishments, and commercial contracts signed on this basis, should become the law for commercial enterprises. The level of goods production in retail prices in the entire national economy may remain for reporting only, "for statistical purposes," so to speak.

What other emergency measures could be taken? It has already been mentioned above that the shortage of goods was exacerbated to a great degree by the accelerated development of the cooperative movement and individual labor activities.

I see a way out in organizing the supply of raw materials to cooperatives mainly from decentralized sources—the collective farm market, purchases of raw materials from collective farms, state farms and private plots, as well as in free wholesale trade for goods in sufficient supply without surcharge coefficients on wholesale prices for raw materials. In other words, it should be unprofitable for cooperatives to purchase raw materials through retail trade. So far, it does not make any difference to them: After all, they make up the loss at the expense of customers, through setting sky-high prices for their products.

The shortage of goods is particularly pronounced in some regions of our country, in rural areas, and it is largely artificial in nature. It is caused in many instances by the improper and frequently downright socially unfair system of allocating marketable resources among regions of our country and urban and rural areas. For example, the average per capita sales of non-food items in rural areas are more than two and a half times smaller than in cities, regardless of the fact that the income of the rural population is growing faster than that of city dwellers. As a result, inhabitants of rural areas cannot convert their money into goods and must travel to cities to shop. According to the data of selective surveys, the rural population acquires about 40 percent of all non-food items in this manner. In the process, every rural family spends between 150 and 200 hours annually for shopping trips to cities.

I see a way out in profoundly changing the existing system of allocating marketable goods, which, incidentally, dates all the way back to the time of Stalin. It is time to switch to distributing the goods in short supply fairly throughout the territory of the country as well, based on the size of the resident population and effective demand. This involves food items in short supply as well.

The shortage of consumer goods, which grew worse last year, indicates like an acid test the extremely unfavorable situation in their production, allocation, and planning. Only immediate measures can stabilize the situation.

*Goods Shortages Not Sole Reason for Long Lines

WA1827005189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Feb 89 p 1

[Article by Yu. Rytov: "Line at the Counter"]

[Text] Sad as it is to talk about it, lines have become an inalienable part of our daily lives. Some specialists explain this phenomenon by the ever growing shortage of many goods and services. They are right to a considerable degree. Indeed, according to the data of the State Committee on Statistics, unsatisfied demand of the populace for goods and services is estimated to be over 70 billion rubles now.

Retail trade in footwear operates in an environment of severe shortages. Many consumer durables—TV sets, refrigerators, washing and sewing machines, electrical appliances—have been in short supply recently. Our press has made a lot of noise about the absence of synthetic detergents and cheap brands of laundry and bathroom soap in the shops.

Deliveries of such goods to retail trade are made irregularly, with lengthy disruptions, and they are distributed unevenly among the regions of the country. Naturally, lines emerge as soon as the goods are found on the shelves. Surveys by statistical agencies show that the expenditure of time for purchasing goods and services per day for one family comes to approximately 1 hour and 40 minutes in the families of workers and clerical employees (on the average), and to 1 hour and 10 minutes in the families of collective farmers.

These, however, are averages. Here are reports from Lipetsk, Dnepropetrovsk, Smolensk, Rostov-na-Donu, Riga, Kiev, Gorkiy, Chelyabinsk and some other cities. In these places, the populace spent between 1 and 2 hours on the average in lines to purchase confectioneries. In Vologda, a line of 100 persons for cakes forms daily and stands there for 2.5 to 3 hours!

In many regions of our country, furniture, some appliances in high demand, and plumbing and sanitation supplies are sold only by prior order after a waiting period of up to 1 year. In Lipetsk, orders for furniture for 1990 have been taken; in the shops of Gorkiy, the waiting period for purchasing sewing machines amounts to 2 years, for ZIL refrigerators—3 years, for imported furniture—several years. Well, maybe there are no "first-come-first-served" lines here? Fat chance! Preliminary orders also require a considerable expenditure of time for standing in line, even at night.

Lines for goods in short supply.... This is somewhat understandable (though unjustifiable). As it is, by and large lines emerge for, as they say, no apparent reason, for goods and services in surplus. What is the explanation in this case?

Reason number one is the backwardness of the material-technical base of trade. The ratio of retail floor space per person in our country is 13 to 19 percent below that in Poland, Hungary, and Bulgaria, 36 percent below that in the GDR, and 38 percent below that in Czechoslovakia.

Reason number two. Progressive forms of trade—and, in particular, self service, the most convenient form for the populace that reduces the time needed to make purchases—are not being implemented vigorously. This method accounts for only 57 percent of retail trade turnover in state-run retail trade. The norm set by the USSR Ministry of Retail Trade is 62 percent.

Reason number three. Cash registers are not in operation even during the rush hours. Trivia? Not at all. Surveys have shown that in self-service grocery stores, as a rule barely over 60 percent of the cash registers installed are in operation in the first and last business hours. One cash register in five is closed between 1700 and 1900 hours, at the time of the greatest influx of customers. Here is the most telling fact: One day in August, only two cash registers out of 10 were open in the the central self-service department store in Alma-Ata.

Reason number four is business hours of retail outlets and service establishments that are inconvenient for the populace. Judge for yourselves. Ninety percent of non-grocery shops and one-third of state-run grocery shops open after 0900 hours, and 75 and 41 percent respectively close before 2000 hours. Of course, people pile into the "outlets" during their duty hours.

All of us are familiar with the traditional sign on the doors of shops and cafeterias: "Closed for inventory taking." In some cases, this sign stays up for 1.5 to 5 days.

The situation is no better in the provision of services. Obviously, the reasons for this are the same. Here are some specific facts. Surveys have shown that orders for custom-tailored clothing for the coming season (in spring for light clothes; in the fall for outerwear) can only be made with great difficulty. A limited number of orders is accepted, and people are forced to take their place in line long before the tailor shop opens, at 0600 hours or earlier. Many service establishments have made things convenient for their customers in a very peculiar manner: A strictly defined day is set for orders to be accepted, sometimes just one day a month!

Even going to the public bath is no simple matter anymore. For example, in Tambov, with its population of more than 300,000, there is only one bath in operation, and the line gets 4 to 6 hours long. People stand in lines for 1.5 to 2 hours to get into the baths of Arkhangelsk, Donetsk, Chelyabinsk and Riga...

All of us are well aware of the vigorous measures now being taken to increase the output of consumer goods and develop the service sector. Thus, the plan is to increase the production of non-food goods by 24 billion rubles over the quotas set by the five-year plan for 1989 and 1990, out of which 9 billion rubles of that increase will come this year and 15 billion next year.

Certainly, retail and service establishments should prepare for making this dash. We cannot go on living on the principle "If it's not one thing, it's another." I am profoundly convinced that an up-to-date level of service and service practices is not a utopia. The statistics quoted above show that the life of the populace could be greatly improved even if we just used the potential we now have fully and intelligently.

New cash registers print the caption "thank you for your purchase" on receipts. It would be very desirable for these words to be true, for them to actually express concern for the customer and respect for him.

Suggested Uses for BAM Railroad Examined

LD0402115489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0508 GMT 4 Feb 89

["The Baykal-Amur Mainline in Conditions of Restructuring"—TASS headline]

[Excerpts] Moscow, 4 Feb (TASS)—Correspondent Vladimir Leonidov writes:

The headquarters of the Komsomol Central Committee on the Bakal-Amur Mainline [BAM], where 45,000 young men and women are working, has proposed that the "industrial belt" of the BAM be transferred to territorial lease-contracting. [passage omitted]

The project of the youth headquarters, which was formed on the BAM a year ago, is prompted by anxiety for the fate of the railway, which even recently was called the "construction site of the century," but now is dubbed more and more often "the longest monument to the epoch of stagnation." Construction, which began back in 1974, has still not been completed, and 550 out of 3,200

km of the main track have not been put into permanent operation. The main thing, however, is that there is almost nothing to transport on the BAM.

The administrative and command methods of management of the epoch of stagnation have had an effect on the mainline's fate. Reliance was placed on victorious reports on the laying of the railway bed, but the technical and economic foundations for the development of the BAM industrial belt lagged behind at the same time. Out of all the deposits of useful minerals in the BAM zone, only one is being worked—the Yuzhno-Yakutskoye—whence trains take away 15 million tonnes of coal a year.

The BAM builders do not agree with the opinion of experts from the USSR Ministry of Railways who are proposing that the mainline, which is still unprofitable, be divided up into three sections and transferred to operating railways: the East Siberian, Far Eastern and Transbaykal. They believe that such surgical intervention will hardly yield any benefit—after all, the BAM was intended specifically as a unified national economic complex. It is much more reliable to use the advantages of the new methods of management and develop all types of collective contracting and leasing in the zone of the mainline and establishing joint-stock companies and cooperatives, the activity of which will be coordinated by a democratically elected "center for opening up and developing the region." According to estimates, this will make it possible to take the BAM off the list of loss-making enterprises as soon as the 1990's.

'Civilized' Curbs on Development Needed

PM0502193589 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 2 Feb 89 p 1

[Mikhail Antonov article under the rubric "Publicist's Notes": "Reality Should Not Be Made of Myths"]

[Text] The more broadly economic reform develops in our country, the more frequently it serves up unpleasant surprises—the erosion of inexpensive price ranges and inflation. This does not seem to have been included in our plans. And the further we go, the more obvious it becomes that our study of the theoretical basis of reform is totally inadequate. For this reason, there are constant disputes among economic workers, specialists, economic scientists, and publicists about the theoretical foundations and real ways of further developing our national economy.

So what did we fail to grasp when we first conceived these radical changes? We reread the classics of Marxism-Leninism and recalled Lenin's ideas on cooperatives and tax in kind in good time, did we not? So why has the economy not improved as expected?

In my opinion, it is because we have not fully considered the most important point bequeathed to us by Lenin—his idea of socialism as a system of civilized cooperatives. (I have expressed this idea before in SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA). The cooperative system is a good idea, but without a civilized approach it develops into commercialism, as Vladimir Ilich pointed out, whether the system is capitalist or socialist.

The idea of socialism as a system of civilized cooperatives has been overlooked to such an extent that now its mere mention is like a red rag to a bull as far as some scientists and publicists are concerned. I only had to mention it myself for there to follow a burst of gunfire from many directions. Particularly revealing, perhaps, was the article by G. Lisichkin, "Myths and Reality" (NOVYY MIR, 1988, No 11), which contained the following lines:

"What is the point, for example, of the claim by publicist M. Antonov, who contended in SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA (17 May 1988) that 'Marxism-Leninism more fully explores the theory of destroying the old system than it does the theory of creating a new one. Consequently, it does not properly develop the ideas of the human factor, the inner world of the personality, and moral and spiritual values?' Who, one asks, could possibly be interested today by a doctrine which leaves the individual standing on the sidelines and is concerned solely with the destruction of the old system—especially if, in our country in any case, it was destroyed a long time ago? Rejecting destructive Marxist-Leninist philosophy, M. Antonov then proceeds to suggest his own, he believes, profoundly humanistic philosophy in its place. At the center of his social formations he places the commune, which will unite people. How? On what basis will it unite them? 'On the basis of love for one's neighbor,' the author replies."

G. Lisichkin goes on to pull the principle of the commune to pieces, likening it to the Maoist "commune" or the Stalinist "kolkhoz," which are also entangled in the commune idea.

There is not a single line in this article that is not either a distortion of my idea or an avoidance of examining it in its essential points. We will attempt to get to the heart of the matter nevertheless.

Yes, I do say that Marxism-Leninism more fully explores the theory of destroying the old system than it does the theory of creating a new one. This has been admitted on more than one occasion by classical scholars of Marxism-Leninism themselves. Lenin was fully justified in saying at the first Comintern congress in 1919 that: "We have progressed in our revolution by following a practical path rather than a theoretical one." And at the 8th Russian Communist Party of Bolsheviks Congress, also in 1919, he frankly said when giving the final speech on the report on the party program: "We have practical experience of taking the first steps to destroy capitalism

in our country from the special standpoint of the proletariat and the peasantry. That is as far as it goes. If we pant and puff ourselves up like frogs, we will present a laughable sight to the rest of the world and will be nothing more than boasters." When the time came to switch from the policy of "war communism" to the New Economic Policy in order to save the country, Lenin said with equal frankness at the 10th Russian Communist Party of Bolsheviks Congress in 1921: "Our previous program was theoretically sound but failed to stand up in practice."

After Lenin, right up to the beginning of the current restructuring period, no one seriously concerned themselves with developing Marxist-Leninist theory. Stalin's theoretical innovations have been rejected by the country's public opinion and by the party, while the contribution made by Khrushchev and Brezhnev to theory can only be discussed on an anecdotal level. But the world has not stood still, and today it is quite different than it was in Lenin's time—let alone in the time of Marx and Engels. Surely it follows from this that the present state of Marxist-Leninist theory is totally inappropriate to current realities?

So how are we building our socialist society? Everyone knows how: following the method of trial and error (which is inevitably connected with large, unnecessary losses—material, moral, and even human). This was discussed by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in his speech in 1987 at the Tallinn Polytechnical Institute.

The intention ascribed to me of "rejecting the destructive Marxist-Leninist philosophy" and replacing it with my own is completely without foundation. Marx did a great and historic thing by scientifically proving the need to replace capitalism with socialism. Lenin indicated the general direction in which the new society should be built—toward a system of civilized cooperatives. To try to persuade someone that we supposedly have a whole theory on the creative stage of communist revolution would be tantamount (and I would remind you of Lenin's words quoted above) to "panting and puffing ourselves up like frogs."

In this situation, it is not enough to cleanse Marxism-Leninism of the distortions permitted by Stalin. The absurdity of formulating the issue in this way was wittily observed by A. Tsipko (NAUKA I ZHIZN, 1988, Nos. 11-12): If we "cleanse" Marxism of Stalinism, Khrushchevism, and Brezhnevism and of the theory and practice of "war communism," it will seem as if Marx and Engels were simply starry-eyed dreamers, whose ideas have absolutely no bearing on the practice of socialism.

Of course, the perversions to which Marxism was subjected after Lenin's death must be eliminated, but even the most "purified," even the most "refined" version cannot possibly answer all of today's questions. All work to develop Marxism still lies ahead, and the pivot of this work, in my opinion, will be what is described in party documents as enhancing the role of the human factor. After all, as social scientists like Academician V. Afanasyev, Academician A. Aganbegyan, and Academician T. Zaslavskaya admit, people in our country have been regarded and still are regarded (as in bourgeois political economy, which was criticized for this by Marx) solely as working people, with economic theory totally ignoring their spiritual, moral, and social aspects.

What use is a working person indifferent to the fortunes of his country and giving no thought to his vocation in life (and this is precisely how the abstract terms "individual" or "working person" appear in economic theory)? He is perfectly capable of ravaging the country and ruining every living thing. Which, frankly speaking, is what we are actually doing—gradually destroying one region of the country after another with our economic activity and turning an ever greater area into a zone unfit for human habitation.

I ask you to understand me correctly: I am concerned by enterprises' pursuit of profit, because this now means they are deaf to everything else—to the land we walk and the air we breathe. No, I am not negating commodity-money relations, especially as I cannot remember a day we have lived without them. But I can see that many ideologues of the "commodity men" seem to still be living in the middle of the 19th century and are failing to take into account the qualitatively new state of the modern world, where it is a question of saving the environment in which we live and saving all mankind.

I am also afraid of something else. During the stagnation years our country witnessed the emergence of a stratum of millionaires or, as they are known in the press, bigwigs of the black economy who control sums of money comparable to republic budgets. The unchecked development of this most uncivilized cooperative has made it possible for many of them to "wash their hands clean" of a considerable proportion of their illegally gotten wealth. Of course, these people find it cramped within the confines of socialism: There is no opportunity to circulate the tens of hundreds of millions of rubles lying idle, invest them in real business, play them on the world market, and turn our paper money into foreign currency. These circles already determine the course of our country's development in many respects; they now need a mouthpiece in order to establish themselves in the ideological sphere. Not without reason have journalists and USSR Prosecutor's Office investigators examining particularly important cases spoken out publicly recently with the warning that if events continue to go as they have so far, it will simply become impossible to fight corruption.

It would not be out of place to also point out that the stratification of the people on a material and social level always leads to an increase in antagonisms, crime, and other negative phenomena. Plato himself, the greatest

thinker in ancient Greece, saw the reason for the weakness of the states of his time as lying in the sharp division between rich and poor. In such a state, he said, it is as if two eternally hostile states—the rich and the poor—coexist, although they lie in the same territory. Even Marx, who devoted his entire life to the analysis of economic relations, ultimately reached the conclusion that profit and wealth are a good thing, but that the stability of society is far better and more important.

And, second, what are we going to do with our accumulated wealth if we turn our own country into a desert? Where will even our nouveau riches get clean water for drinking; how will they protect their palaces against "acid rain"; and what will they leave their children, whom, one must suppose, they love no less than ordinary mortals love their children?

So what must we do to get out of this stagnation? The most important thing is to make ourselves and our economy more civilized. But this is a tremendously difficult thing to do after decades of running wild in both the spiritual and the moral sense, which held the broadest strata of the people in its grip. To overcome this, we must restore our severed cultural traditions and revive the old precepts of morality that have been established over the centuries. After all, socialism does not only consist of the level of socialization of the means of production or in higher labor productivity (especially as our social scientists are unable to grasp what this means). Classical scholars of Marxism-Leninism saw socialism as being primarily reflected in the level of development of the individual and in the degree of civilization and culture he attained. Consequently, quite different criteria to growth in production volume and the national income (which can also be raised by producing goods no one needs) should be taken as indicators of the country's socioeconomic development. These criteria are: the average life expectancy of the population, the birth and death rates, the level of material well-being, the comprehensive characteristics of the people's cultural development and moral health, the state of the environment, and so forth.

The way to this, I repeat, is not close at hand. But, step-by-step, we must bring Lenin's idea of a system of civilized cooperatives closer. Developed capitalist countries are becoming increasingly aware that the exacerbation of ecological, social, and other global problems inevitably forces society to exert an increasingly active influence on the elemental forces of commodity-money relations, thereby limiting the framework of private enterprise. Would it not be a shame if this idea of Lenin's were to be put into practice—but not in the country where it was conceived and where, in my view, favorable conditions exist for its realization?

Agricultural

Food Production Conference in Ukraine Continues

Ligachev Speaks

LD0702233689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 7 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report by commentator Yevgeniy Sinitsyn]

[Excerpts] The all-union seminar conference devoted to the tasks of party and local soviet bodies of towns and industrial centers in tackling the food program, which began its work in Kharkov, continued today in Belgorod. [video shows comentator Yevgeniy Sinitsyn speaking to camera in street]

[Sinitsyn] Why precisely have these towns been chosen? It is because they already have specific experience in assisting the countryside. As was stated yesterday, it is necessary to generalize this experience, study it, and put it at the service of the food cause.

A meeting at Belgorod Obkom was attended by Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev, Viktor Petrovich Nikonov, Aleksandr Vladimirovich Vlasov, and Ivan Stepanovich Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. A report was given by Aleksey Filippovich Ponomarev, obkom first secretary. [video shows platform, speaker's rostrum, and audience at obkom meeting, including medium shots of Ligachev, Nikonov, Vlasov, and Silayev seated on the platform]

This is the display pavillion of the products of factories in Belgorod Oblast. Anyone who has frequently been in the countryside will agree that he has never set eyes upon many of the machines, designs, and installations being displayed here. [video shows entrance of agro-industrial complex display pavilion and Ligachev and group touring exhibition and inspecting various items of equipment on display] [passage omitted]

[Begin Ligachev recording] Comrades, I should like to draw particular attention to everything you and I have been seeing and hearing here. It seems to me—Aleksandr Vladimirovich and I have just been briefly exchanging views—that a new complete system of mutual relations between town and countryside has been developing and taking shape in both Kharkov and Belgorod. Earlier, as you know, this was all arranged by means of administrative injunctions. Now a completely new period is setting in. It is only on the basis of consideration that it is possible to broaden, deepen, and enhance the effectiveness of the town's work in the countryside. Look at what the relationship is! For all intents and purposes there is an exchange of products—mainly of above-plan products. This benefits both the collectives, and vast potential is harnessed by this. [video shows Ligachev, microphone in hand, addressing a group of people in outdoor setting at exhibition] [end recording]

[Unidentified correspondent] Today the participants in the seminar conference also visited a storage depot for live pond fish. This project was built by the people's construction method. Its reservoirs contain simultaneously 1,800 tonnes of carp and silver carp. This fish will appear on the counters all-year-round and its price is constant. [video shows large interior containing pools of fish; distant view of visitors at far side of building]

Another address of front-ranking experience was a workshop for processing food waste into feed. There are already 68 similar enterprises in the oblast. Through their work the farms annually receive R19 million of net profit. [video shows feed installation]

A lot of interest was evoked by the experience of the work of the (severnoye) interfarm enterprise in feed production. It was built in just 3 months and provides 10,000 granules annually. [video of shelves containing bottles]

The participants in the conference today visited the Dzerzhinskiy Kolkhoz. Here a large-scale livestock complex for the production of beef has been built with the help of Belgorod's industrial enterprises and construction organizations. [video shows cattle inside the complex] [passage omitted]

Nikonov, Shcherbitskiy Attend

LD0702115889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0500 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Summary] The All-Union conference-seminar on the development of the food complex is continuing in Kharkov.

"On the agenda today is the study of the the Belgorod party organization's experience in improving the food supply to the population and a visit to enterprises in the oblast.

"Taking part in the conference are Comrades Ligachev, Nikonov, Shcherbitskiy, and Vlasov."

Mild Weather in European Areas Damaging Crops

PM0702140189 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 5 Feb 89 p 1

[Report by Agrometeorologist N. Ignatova: "The Weather and the Crops"]

[Text] The unusually mild weather persisted over the European part of the country. As before there was no snow in the fields sown to winter grain crops and grasses in the Baltic region; most of Belorussia and the Ukraine; and Moldavia, Krasnodar Kray, and the eastern and southern parts of Stavropol Kray. The depth to which the soil is frozen has diminished. In the western and southern parts of the aforementioned territory the soil has thawed. On certain days the resumption of vegetation among winter crops was observed.

An unfavorable factor for continued overwintering is that for 40-60 days there has been a layer of ice attached to the soil under shallow snow cover and in places with no snow cover. Such is the picture in a number of eastern oblasts in Belorussia, some rayons in the Ukraine, and in Bryansk, Kursk, and Belgorod oblasts. By spring, plants could be considerably more sparse here.

In the east of Leningrad and Novgorod oblasts, most of the territory of the northern, central, and Volga-Vyatka regions, the western Urals region, and some regions of Kuybyshev and Penza oblasts the depth of snow cover in fields sown to winter crops remained at 35-60 cm or more. The compactness of the snow increased. Under such a heavy layer of snow the freezing of the soil was slight (to a depth of 15-30 cm) and in a number of rayons it had thawed. Minimum soil temperature at winter grain crop tillering node depth and grassroot neck depth remained in the range of 0 to minus 2 degrees. By spring, winter grain crops in this territory may be sparser through having perished under the snow cover.

In the rest of the European part of the USSR the conditions for overwintering were mainly satisfactory, although in some regions of Kaluga, Tula, and Orel oblasts, the northern part of Rostov Oblast, and a number of regions of Lipetsk, Voronezh, and Volgograd oblasts it was noted that the soil was in the grip of a layer of ice. But in those regions it is less dangerous to plants because it is under a snow cover of over 15 cm.

The unusually mild weather has caused reduced winter-hardiness among fruit crops. In the Baltic region, in most of Belorussia, in the western, central, and southern oblasts of the Ukraine, in Moldavia, in Krasnodar Kray, and in the south of Stavropol Kray, where the maximum air temperature rose to 5-10 degrees, there was a further swelling of buds on apple trees, cherry trees, currant bushes, and among other fruit and tree crops.

In the crop farming regions of Siberia and Kazakhstan the weather remained milder than usual. On some days, however, there was between 25 and 30 degrees of frost. But the frosts were not harmful to wintering crops because there is quite a deep snow cover in the fields protecting plants against the effect of low temperatures.

In Azerbaijan and Turkmenia, where the daytime air temperature was 8-10 degrees, vegetation among winter grain crops and perennial grasses was poor. In the remainder of the territory of the Transcaucasian and Central Asian republics and southern Kazakhstan, wintering crops were in a state of dormancy under the snow cover. The depth of snow cover in Armenia and eastern Georgia was 15-50 cm, while in the foothills and mountain regions of the Central Asian republics snow depth varied from 9 cm to 35 cm.

Panel Stresses Need for Land Lease Laws

OW0702010289

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0630 GMT on 23 January in its 30-minute "AGRO" program deals with the pressing need to have adequate, contemporary laws to cope with the growing interest in land leasing. The program begins with file film of I. Khudenko, agronomist and agricultural manager who, as far back as the 60s, proposed a leasing system. He was arrested in 1970 and died in prison 4 years later. Video then cuts to a panel, consisting of Academician V.A. Tikhonov of the V.I. Lenin Academy of Agricultural Sciences [VASKhNIL], Professor G.Ye. Bystrov, and N.B. Prokhorikhin, director of the "Zavorovo" Sovkhoz.

Tikhonov begins the discussion by saying that it is doubtful that anyone in the Soviet Union today is happy with the progress of reconstruction, because the food situation in the shops is the worst it has been "since 1947." What is needed urgently is not merely a law to formalize land leasing arrangements, but a law to also spell out the relationship between the leaseholder and the state.

A general discussion on the mistakes of the past, the negative aspects of command economy, and the existence, to this day, of the all-pervasive red tape and bureaucracy ensues. Prokhorikhin argues that all producing units, including sovkhozez, must be protected from undue interference from mindless and ill-educated bureaucrats. In fact, he says, the government apparatus must be prevented from making economic decisions. This, more than anything else, will contribute to an increase in productivity. The panel agrees, with Tikhonov adding that it is high time for the state to be content with a smaller share of the profits, leaving the enterprises and farms the opportunity to invest in new equipment and distribute the profits, because "the standard of living among the working people of our country is perhaps higher only than such countries as Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, and Mongolia".

Bystrov agrees that the land lease system holds great promise, but also warns about excessive enthusiasm. At all times, it is the peasants who must decide which system is more suitable. In areas where kolkhozes and sovkhozes are bringing the desired results and peasants are happy with the situation, no pressure should be applied to bring about a change. Otherwise, the mistakes of forced collectivization will be repeated.

The participants once again become involved in a very general discussion on the need to stop government administration from interfering in economic decisions. Returning to the question of leasing, Bystrov poses the question: "Can leasing be understood within the framework of socialism, or are we after purely pragmatic goals? This is not a legal question, but rather a socio-economic one. Why do we need leasing? Is it merely to fill the shop shelves, or because we must undertake political reforms in order to strengthen the feeling of ownership among the workers, and because this is consistent with our principles? The law must resolve this question. As long as we regard leasing merely as an interim measure devised to solve present day food shortages, people will continue to wonder if, in several years, they may, as happened in 1929, be declared kulaks. Therefore, we must seriously state that leasing is a socialist category, a necessary step in order to reform the whole political and economic system; that it will last for a long time; and that legal guarantees must be provided to the leaseholder. All of this must appear in the lease laws, which are currently being prepared." The panel agrees, and adds that it is of primary importance that these draft laws receive the widest possible public exposure so the leaseholders are assured that they are the true masters of the land they work.

Estonian Farmsteaders Establish Union

PM0702142189 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 24 Jan 89 p 1

[ETA report by A. Ploompuu: "We'll Be Masters! Notes from the Constituent Assembly of the Central Union of Peasants of Estonia"]

[Text] **Time of action: Sunday, 22 January 1989.**

Venue of action: Paydeskiy Rayon's Culture Center.

Participants: The newly fledged present and future farmsteaders of Estonia, leaders of the republic's Gosagroprom, scientists—a total of more than 250 rural working men and women, as well as numerous guests and journalists.

It is less than a year since the day when the first group of farmsteaders gathered in Saku. Regular courses have been held since that time for people interested in the prospect of becoming one of the new farmsteaders. And so, the time came for them to organize themselves in their own autonomous economic-political professional organization. The temporary board has done its work, initial experience has been accumulated, and the time for energetic actions has come, the time to remedy the historical mistake as a result of which peasants were removed from the land, peasants' families were scattered, and the term "backwater" was used in our daily vocabulary with increasing frequency.

A report on behalf of the Central Union of Peasants of Estonia Temporary Board was delivered by Board Chairman M. Metsalu.

The farmsteader system has gained support from the republic leadership organs, he said. Work is now being done on the relevant resolution, the so-called farmsteads law. Unfortunately, however, the Ministry of Finance

and the Ministry of Justice have still not reached full agreement on some questions. And even at rayon level, the attitude toward farmsteaders is ambiguous.

It is clear that farmstead production must meet modern demands. After all, the Estonian countryside is a social whole, and therefore in the future we must have without fail, in parallel with farmsteads geared to purely agricultural production, also farmsteads run by school teachers, trade workers, cultural workers, and others. But there is something even more important—the farmsteader system must finally gain the proper social recognition. In the future we will certainly need a law on farmsteads. In running a farmstead, it is not enough to just utilize the plot of land allocated for use; the farmer also needs timber and a water source, and natural construction materials like gravel, sand, and so on. Even though the first step in supplying farmsteaders with technical means has already been taken, there is still a shortage of various machines and spare parts, and the price policy must be made fairer. It would not be amiss to note that every farmstead will need a telephone. The central union is necessary as a protector of farmsteaders' interests.

In his coreport, I. Rayg (Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences Economics Institute) emphasized that nostalgia and euphoria alone are not sufficient for the correct organization of affairs. We need a radical land reform. The farmsteader system is not just a form of production but a way of life. There is no doubt that it is necessary to create a system for the basic and further training of farmsteaders. Why not open an appropriate republic center in Saku, for example?

Our peasants' labor experience is based on family labor, G. Tynspoyeg, member of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, first deputy chairman of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the Estonian SSR Gosagroprom, said. Of course, there is no need to copy the farmsteads of the past. Time has moved on. Nor is there any need to scorn the lease contract, since not everyone would be in a position to dedicate himself to rural labor forever. One thing is obvious, however: No major successes can be achieved without a genuine sense of being the master, and in order to achieve this we must all learn to be masters.

The introduction of small-scale forms of labor will make it possible to significantly cut back the present ramified apparatus of functionaries at all levels. People are extremely interested in the revival of farmsteads and, who knows, we might even live to see lines of people waiting to move from cities to the countryside. In any case, the foundations for this are already being laid.

Then came the most festive moment of the day. G. Tynspoyeg presented three farmsteaders with state acts on assigning land for perpetual use—documents legalizing the working person's rights over the basic means of production. This time, we would like to see these acts retaining their value for ever. These are the hopes not only of recognized farmsteaders Yaan Ekhamyae and Yuri Eybak from Paydeskiy Rayon and Yuri Yurna from Virumaa, but also of all who attended the festive ceremony.

Yes indeed, our farmsteaders need above all a feeling of confidence. Numerous statements repeatedly emphasized that it is not sufficient to recognize agriculture's priority in words alone. There is need for a swift solution to a number of specific questions including, for example, the training of farmsteaders. There is no need to look far for examples; back in the past, Estonia had farming science schools. There is no particular reason to expect that all-union departments will generously start handing out machines for small-scale production: Should we so wish, we will be able to cope more quickly, and maybe even better, by ourselves. Confirmation of this was offered by the great interest in two types of cultivators which were on show in the Culture Center lobby. Both of them, designed for use with mini-tractors and relatively cheap, are made by craftsmen from the Paydeskiy Rayon Committee for the Supply of Production Equipment for Agriculture. Blank order forms were to be found on a table next to them, and by the end of the day they were all filled in.

According to V. Rozenberg, specialist in Estonian potato cultivation, none but the farmsteaders are in a position to rescue this crop, which is in extreme difficulties today. The doors of potato cultivation laboratories are always open to farmsteaders, and there they will be able to obtain seed material and good advice.

There were also, of course, some extremely sharp statements: There were those who expressed doubts and those who were hesitant. There was a lot of emotion. And that was also logical, since we still have a lot to learn, notably in the matter of standards of speaking. But the understandable sense of grievance is a poor adviser when making serious decisions. Here people need calmness and clarity of thought. And it seemed that they did gain the upper hand: Numerous businesslike amendments were introduced in the draft statute of the Central Union of Peasants of Estonia. The statute was then ratified.

Those attending the assembly heard an express telegram containing greetings from the Pyarnu Popular Front Council of Plenipotentiaries, whose meeting was also held on the same day.

The meeting adopted an address to the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers urging them to accelerate adoption of the appropriate legislative act, which would give farmsteaders a sense of confidence.

The union's constituent assembly elected a Council of the Central Union of Peasants of Estonia consisting of 49 members, as well as an auditing commission and a

board. A. Tamm, director of the republic Gosagroprom's training combine, became chairman of the council and simultaneously chairman of the board.

I. Kallas, chief of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Agrarian Department, took part in the assembly's work.

Restructuring Problems in Smolensk Viewed

OW0302062489

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0410 GMT on 31 January in its 10-minute "Restructuring Spotlight" program, presented by journalist Valeriy Golubev, deals with the problem of "How To Save the Smolensk Oblast Villages."

The program opens with general shots of the region, while Golubev cites a report, prepared by experts of an official commission, which states: "The analysis of the aerial photographs shot in 11 rayons of Smolensk Oblast, covering an area of 85,000 hectares, leads to the conclusion that, out of the 966 fields that had been investigated, 168 small [melkokonturnyye] fields are fully grown over and are not used in agriculture." As video shows fields and village streets covered with puddles and numerous pools, Golubev says the same things are occurring all over the oblast and nearby zones of the Vazuza Reservoir, as well as in the adjoining Sychevskiy Rayon. No concerted effort has been made to check the water problem in the area, and more villages will be abandoned in the future, unless drainage work is done.

The video then shows an interview with an old woman who says that, out of 80 families, only 3 old women are left in Borodenki Village. Golubev then cites the following: "In 40 years, the arable lands were reduced by one third." More screen captions are shown: "From 1965 to 1985, the rural population was reduced by 265,800." Golubev continues: "During the last 20 years, more than 2,000 villages have ceased to exist." Screen captions reappear: On average, 1 square kilometer of kolkhoz and sovkhoz lands contains 10 people, of which only 3 are able-bodied." Golubev complains that funds allocated to land reclamation are not used rationally, and real needs of the rural area are concealed in bureaucratic jungles of various departments.

Video cuts to interview with A.A. Vlasenko, first secretary of Smolensk Obkom, who speaks about the CPSU Central Committee seminar held in Orel on the problem of rejuvenation of the Smolensk villages, and outlines plans for roads, housing, and communal construction, and the needed expenditures.

Golubev points out that the population of Smolensk and other cities is increasing, while the supply of produce is not growing at the same pace. He laments the disproportion between industrial and rural investment, the capital frozen in construction projects that last lasts for many years. He says that in this respect Smolensk Oblast compares poorly with other oblasts of central Russia.

Video cuts to show the best Smolensk Oblast sovkhozes. Golubev says the people in this village have invested their own money to improve the situation. Golubev says the Ministry of Water Resources should be made responsible for poor land reclamation work that resulted in losses by land users, and concludes the program saying that large investment is urgently needed for the rejuvenation of Smolensk villages.